University of Alberta

A Comparative Cultural Study of Street Prostitutes and Sexual Minorities in Canada

Pierre Bourdieu: Theorizing Public Pedagogy in the Pursuit of Realist Ideals

©

by
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyzes the sociocultural position of sex workers and sexual minorities in Canadian society. It theorizes the parallel experiences of the two groups with the aim of creating a public pedagogy model that can be employed to improve the daily lives of sex workers. An important contention of the study is that successful social advocacy programs conducted by gays and lesbians provide important lessons for prostitution advocacy groups who try to achieve positive social change for prostitutes. A case study of same-sex marriage advocacy in Canada is presented as an example of a public pedagogy successfully employed as a tool for social change. Gays and lesbians are theorized as a collective intellectual ideally positioned to lead an emerging gender–sexuality field, which is theorized as an emancipatory public pedagogy—invigorated by the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Henry Giroux—that can work for sexual minority advocacy initiatives. Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical constructs, including symbolic violence, habitus, cultural arbitraries, field, and capital, are applied to a discussion of the historical and contemporary social, cultural, and political forces that control the position and lived experiences of sex workers and sexual minorities: Bourdieu's constructs help to explain why social change is difficult but not impossible to achieve. Sex worker discourses are offered to explain how sex work can be both debilitating and empowering. Feminist perspectives are reviewed to explain why radical feminist theories can be harmful to the daily lives of sex workers and sexual minorities. Alternative feminist perspectives, including the work of Kari Kesler and Judith Butler, are theorized as life-affirming for prostitutes and sexual minorities. Heterosexuality and religion are presented as historical and contemporary adversaries of the emerging gender–sexuality field. The various legal responses to prostitution—criminalization, regulation, abolitionism, and decriminalization—are evaluated. The study concludes that the Canadian justice system and Canadian laws contribute to the social marginalization and high murder rates among prostitutes. It proposes that decriminalization is the only logical and humane legal response to Canadian prostitution.

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CHAPTER 1: ABOUT THIS STUDY

Introduction

Canadians pride themselves on their democratic institutions and their fair and equal treatment of all citizens. Prostitution and homosexuality are legal in Canada, and prostitutes, gays, and lesbians are entitled to equal protection before the law. Nonetheless, prostitutes and other sexual minorities—including lesbian, gay, gender neutral, bisexual, and transgendered (LGGBT) people—are often marginalized, invisible citizens. They are consistently and systematically subjected to overt and symbolic violence meted out by individuals and institutions in our society. The rights of prostitutes, and perhaps to a lesser extent, the rights of other sexual minorities, are not recognized: People are suffering and dying as a result. This is not acceptable.

Throughout this document I conceptualize prostitutes as a sexual minority. In taking this approach, I support Gayle Rubin's contention—as explained by Bell (1994)—that the legal and medical disciplining of prostitutes in the nineteenth century helped to establish prostitution as a permanent occupation. Bell suggests that this resulted in the creation of the "prostitute as a sexual minority like the homosexual and prostitution as a dissident sexuality like homosexuality" (p. 95).

The Canadian cultural milieu causes devastating, sometimes deadly harm to sexual minorities, especially street prostitutes. Whom does society abhor more than prostitutes? The case can be made that pedophiles occupy the very lowest rung of our society, but no one is more vulnerable to public wrath than are Canada's prostitutes. Certainly, we do not have dozens and dozens of rotting pedophile bodies strewn around our rural areas. Prostitutes, on the other hand, appear to be expendable and their plight invisible. It is not until the toll of their deaths mounts to double digits and beyond that citizens sit up and take notice of prostitutes' lives.

The facts speak for themselves. Thirteen prostitutes were found dead in rural areas Edmonton between 1989 and January 2007; their cases are being investigated by Alberta's RCMP-led Project KARE task force, but as of October 2007, only one arrest has been made (Cormier, 2007; Kleiss, 2007). Since 1969, in northern British Columbia, 18 young women have been murdered or gone missing along Highway 16—dubbed the Highway of Tears; the RCMP finally expanded its investigation of these cases in October 2007 (Hall, 2007). Since 1978, 65 missing women from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside have been named on official police lists. Robert William Pickton, who was known to police by 1997, is only now being tried for the murders of 26 of these women (Cameron, 2007); 27 Downtown Eastside prostitutes disappeared between 1998 and Pickton's arrest in 2002. There is a clear need for research to remove the cloak of invisibility that shrouds these and other prostitutes' lives, and to analyze whether new, more life-affirming approaches to prostitution can be devised.

This study examines the perspectives and needs of sexual minorities within Canadian society, with particular emphasis on the cultural ideologies and practices that affect the daily lives of street prostitutes. The purpose of the study is to develop a public pedagogy that can serve as a tool for social change—change that improves the working conditions and the lives of Canada's street prostitutes. This is not a mission that can wait while politicians or activists or lawmakers debate the prostitution "problem," or while we toy with solutions—like john schools—that make us feel we are being proactive even as we place lives at risk. We need to act *today*, before another life is ruined or lost.

Through my work as an adult upgrading instructor, I came to know a number of male and female prostitutes who were students in my classes. Because they were my students, I came to know them as people whose lives were interesting and important. I did not think of them merely as prostitutes. To me, they were not lazy, immoral, dangerous, sex-crazed, crime-prone drug addicts—the stereotype that many Canadians accept with little, if any, reflection. To me, they were people who suffered and dreamed, who responded to kindness and respect, and who were flawed in the same ways as all human beings. As I learned my students' stories, I began to understand that prostitutes live in a world that is foreign and mysterious to most people. I began to recognize that all sexual minorities reside in a social purgatory. They are largely ignored until they see the "error of their ways" and renounce their chosen sexual practices. And in those rare times when they are not ignored, prostitutes and other sexual minorities are denigrated, used, abused, and even murdered.

Various factions of our society lobby for decriminalization or criminalization or regulation or abolition of prostitution. These perspectives may be motivated by ideology or political expediency or moral outrage or religious fervor. Communities, police forces, governments, courts, and vigilante groups all play their parts. The one constant is prostitution, and the one enduring reality is that prostitutes continue to live dangerous and debased lifestyles. As a society, we should try to remember that our solutions to what we define as the prostitution problem affect the lives of real people, not some abstract, unfeeling concept. While we posture and proselytize and search for politically correct language with which to discuss the issue, our social policies and institutions continue to place lives in jeopardy. As individual citizens and as a society, we have a responsibility to change the status quo.

In this dissertation I explore the cultural position of prostitutes and other sexual minorities in Canadian society in a comparative cultural study. I analyze prostitution from a historical, social, cultural, legal, and theoretical perspective. Using the cultural constructs of Pierre Bourdieu as a framework, I develop a new theory of social dynamics that explains why violence against sexual minorities is systemic in our society, why Canadians tolerate such violence, why social change is difficult, and what challenges must be overcome. My theory, which I expound in Chapter 7, suggests that a new social space is emerging in Canada, namely, a gender–sexuality field that offers a forum for sexuality and gender discourses, including discourses on prostitution. I conceptualize the gender–sexuality field as a community of communities—a community of sexual minorities in which gays and lesbians possess the most significant social and cultural capital. Over the past decades, Canada's gay and lesbian community has successfully laid claim to a number of civil and human rights that are every citizen's due, including the right to marry. The social activism strategies employed to assert these rights serve as a model of a powerful public pedagogy that can act as a transformative power in the lives of other sexual minorities, including prostitutes, and as a counterhegemonic force in Canadian society.

The gender–sexuality field provides an appropriate environment for the implementation of an active public pedagogy that is characterized by a prohumanist perspective, and that reflects what Bourdieu calls realist ideals, or reasoned utopianism—a pragmatic but impassioned approach to social change. A pedagogy based on realist ideals recognizes and advocates for the human rights of all Canadians, particularly those people who feel more comfortable with gender or sexual identities that differ from those of the heterosexual majority. The public pedagogy model I propose in this dissertation is designed to help sexual minorities develop successful strategies for social change. It can help society devise new, more life-affirming methods for dealing with prostitution, and define a “safe place” for prostitutes and other sexual minorities. As seasoned social activists, and as the most powerful and influential members of the gender–sexuality field, Canada’s gays and lesbians have the power to lead and champion the implementation of this pedagogy, which I suggest must begin with the immediate decriminalization of prostitution.

Personal Perspective

This dissertation reflects my personal voyage into the world of sex and gender. The inspiration for my study evolved in the intersection of my work as an adult upgrading instructor, my role as a parent, and my duty as a citizen. For many years I worked as an English teacher and administrator in adult upgrading programs in community colleges, federal penitentiaries, and community outreach programs. In all my roles, I gravitated toward programs designed to help people who faced great challenges in their lives and who lived on the fringes of society, with limited social, cultural, or economic capital upon which to draw. My students were adults who had failed—for myriad reasons—to successfully complete public school. They were the dispossessed, those whom society allowed to fall by the wayside, to be forgotten, or worse, despised.

A number of my female students and a handful of my male students worked in the sex industry. Some of these people shared their stories with me. They told of their daily struggles to survive in a cold, harsh world that is largely devoid of compassion, respect, or hope. One young woman spoke of her ongoing battle to secure her particular street corner from the onslaught of other prostitutes. A second woman worked in a massage studio, and incredulously reported that one of her sex customers was a senior school administrator. A third woman spoke of her travels across Canada as a 15-year-old prostitute who survived by her wits and chemically induced chutzpa.

The defining moments for my study began to unfold through a series of conversations I had with a tall, tough, unsmiling 19-year-old woman a few years ago. I was the new teacher at an adult upgrading school, and I often taught in the evenings, when there were few students or teachers around. The woman had a bad reputation among my colleagues. Apparently, she was difficult to work with, had a bad temper, and was stubborn and opinionated. When I first met this woman, we sat down, introduced ourselves, sized each other up, and started to talk, and talk, and talk. Or rather, she talked and I listened, while occasionally asking a question or smiling encouragement. For several nights in succession, she would search me out when I wasn't busy, and she would talk and talk some more. She told me about her family and her tumultuous relationship with her mother, about her decision to leave her home in Winnipeg and move to Edmonton, about her life on the streets, and about the challenges she faced as a prostitute. She talked about her anger management problems. She talked about being alone, being lonely, and about her desire to reconcile with her mother. She always spoke with an emotional detachment, regardless of what the topic might be. And I never saw even an inkling of her famous temper. In the end, she bravely decided to try life with her mother one more time, and we said our goodbyes.

This woman's story and the stories of women like her are inevitably the stories of good, normal people who are trying to make the best of what their lives have to offer. As I drove my son home from school each day along 95 Street in downtown Edmonton, I began to scan the sidewalks to see if any of my students were working the streets. I was struck by the realization that I was searching for people who had names, feelings, and stories. For me, at least, society's invisible were becoming real. I saw that many of the women on the street corners were bitterly cold and distressed. I saw their defiance, even as they lowered their gaze in shame. As a parent, I thought of the anguish some parents must feel as they imagine the degraded and dangerous lives their children are leading. I began to wonder why I, like the vast majority of Canadians, had spent my life ignoring the plight of people who work our streets. And I wondered why my young son expressed disgust for the street women. What was the source of his harsh judgment? As I began to explain to my son some of the personal stories shared by my students, I saw the intensity of his views begin to soften. For him too, the women became real people, people he could empathize with and even admire. And I realized, finally, that I must give voice to the plight of sex workers. I must tell their stories. I must do my part to remove their cloak of invisibility.

As I began the research for my dissertation, I was struck by the nature of people's responses when I told them my topic was prostitution. Some individuals had very strong, negative feelings about prostitutes and were willing to express their views. But most people chose to offer few, if any, opinions or thoughts about prostitution. Prostitution appeared to be taboo. The mere mention of the topic seemed to embarrass people and make them uncomfortable or apprehensive. Silence was the only way they could respond to the issue. As my study unfolded, I began to think about prostitutes as a sexual minority, and to explore the similarities between the social and cultural positions of prostitutes with those of other sexual minorities. Once again—and throughout the course of my work—I was struck by the silences that surround discourses about sexuality. It is my sincere hope that this dissertation will help to shatter the silence so that society can begin to devise strategies that have, as their primary goal, the safety and welfare of prostitutes and other sexual minorities.

Theoretical Framework

I use a deductive, theoretical perspective to frame my dissertation research. I chose this approach in part because of my work in federal penitentiaries. As correctional educators in a prison environment, my colleagues and I often operated from a solely intuitive perspective. We devised strategies and policies on the run as we struggled, against great odds, to develop education programs that kept our staff safe, met inmates' learning needs, and overcame the constraints imposed by prison staff and the prison system. I often wondered whether our practice might have been more effective had it been founded on a theory that broadened and deepened our thinking, and helped us understand the proper direction to take.

Theory provides a strong foundation for the policies, actions, and practices needed to effect social change. In my research about the position of prostitutes and sexual minorities in Canadian society, I used the work of Pierre Bourdieu to provide a theoretical framework for my thinking about the structure of society. Bourdieu's theories about the social dynamics inherent in resistance and change informed my analysis of why social change is so difficult to achieve. They also enlightened and deepened my thinking about how to facilitate social change.

Bourdieu (1930–2002) was a citizen of France who devoted his life as a cultural sociologist to theorizing about social and cultural practices. He was influenced by theorists such as Émile Durkheim to develop sociology as a science. Indeed, Bourdieu once described his sociology of culture as being a science of the sacred—a science that explains why elite society is sacred, why everyone else is profane, and why this state of affairs is so unchanging.

Bourdieu's theories about the structure of society provide a scientific analysis of our complex, highly differentiated society. I use Bourdieu's theoretical constructs to describe the daily lives of prostitutes, particularly street prostitutes, from a theoretical perspective, and to analyze why prostitutes have so little power in our society. I use Bourdieu's work on habitus and field to explain some of the complex social, economic, and political forces that continuously influence prostitution and the daily lives of prostitutes. I use Bourdieu's field construct as a helpful tool for differentiating the many complex components of our society while demonstrating how these components interact and affect each other. I use the characteristics Bourdieu applies to the field construct to build the case that a gender–sexuality field is emerging.

Bourdieu thinks about the world as a cultural anthropologist, a sociologist, and a philosopher. He thinks about power from local, national, and international perspectives. He thinks about who has power, how power is sustained, and why it is difficult for the average person to grab hold of. He analyzes how history lives in the present in the guise of powerful cultural and social conventions that are embedded in our cultural practices and daily routines, and accepted as truth. Bourdieu's theories help us understand how cherished institutions such as our churches and schools are agents of symbolic violence inflicted upon prostitutes and other sexual minorities, how our institutions—perhaps unwittingly—are purveyors of pain and terror, how our civil society inflicts violence upon our most vulnerable citizens, and how state institutions such as our police and our courts drive the sexually disenfranchised into dangerous and sometimes deadly environments.

Bourdieu has strong opinions about education as both an agent of social change and an agent of social repression. He blends the best of subjectivist and objectivist perspectives to develop a theory which suggests that human will does have some power in the face of objective constraints. He also theorizes about what can be done—by institutions, by individuals, and by public intellectuals—to create social change. Bourdieu explains that national and international ideologies such as neoliberalism and neoconservativism are powerful, antidemocratic forces that serve to maintain and reproduce current hegemonic structures. He suggests that public intellectuals must be politically active and must work together—as collective intellectuals—to rearticulate public discourses in favor of democratic values, social equality, and social agency.

Bourdieu's ideas about the role of public intellectuals are reiterated by the critical theorist Henry Giroux, who advocates public pedagogy as a means of effecting social change. Giroux (2004a) defines public pedagogy as a "form of political intervention in the world that is capable of creating the possibilities for social transformation" (p. 34). Giroux refers to Bourdieu to explain that an accessible, transformative public pedagogy must be founded on an understanding of cultural and linguistic capital—concepts proposed in Bourdieu's theory of society. Giroux uses Bourdieu to explain how dominant powers in society produce, reproduce, and use cultural capital to maintain hegemonic structures. He uses Bourdieu's work to explain why a public pedagogy that hopes to facilitate meaningful social change must attempt to influence broad social reconstruction.

Both Bourdieu and Giroux offer interesting, incisive ideas that help us understand how the poorest, weakest members of society are affected by powerful forces that most Canadians neither see nor recognize. Bourdieu's field construct helps us draw a conceptual map of modern society—a map on which concentric circles interweave with other circles that spiral to the top of the social pyramid, and on which individual lives within families, peer groups, and communities are all interwoven within local, national, and international environments. I use this conceptual map to inform my theorizing about the emerging gender–sexuality field and to support my contention that a public pedagogy model led by Canada's gay and lesbian community and based on the social activism strategies used to secure same-sex marriage rights can serve as an effective, positive force in the lives of prostitutes and other sexual minorities. My public pedagogy model demystifies illusions surrounding street prostitutes and sexual minorities, describes the underlying structures of society that perpetuate violence against the sexually disenfranchised, explains how individual and group agency can be fostered, and provides a vision for a more equitable and inclusive future.

Methodology

> Social research is theoretical, meaning that much of it is concerned with developing, exploring or testing the theories or ideas that social researchers have about how the world operates. But it is also empirical, meaning that it is based on observations and measurements of reality—on what we perceive of the world around us…[Most research is] a blending of these two terms—a comparison of our theories about how the world operates with our observations of its operation. (Trochim, 2000)

My dissertation research employed a multi-method approach. My research method was deductive as well as inductive, and interpretive as well as critical. It was also reflexive: Throughout the research process, I examined my own thinking and revised my ideas in light of this examination.

Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical constructs provide the underlying epistemology that guided my research. My methodology combines a deductive, theoretical approach that draws on the work of Bourdieu with an inductive, theory-development approach that uses case study research to examine the position of street prostitutes and other sexual minorities in Canadian society. My research method is interpretive because it starts from the assumption that "access to reality (given or socially constructed) is only through social constructions such as language, consciousness and shared meanings" (Myers, 2007). It is critical because it builds on the work of critical researchers, namely, Pierre Bourdieu and Henry Giroux. Meyers explains the perspective of critical research as follows:

> Critical researchers assume that social reality is historically constituted and that it is produced and reproduced by people. Although people can consciously act to change their social and economic circumstances, critical researchers recognize that their ability to do so is constrained by various forms of social, cultural and political domination. The main task of critical research is seen as being one of social critique, whereby the restrictive and alienating conditions of the status quo are brought to light. Critical research focuses on the oppositions, conflicts and contradictions in contemporary society, and seeks to…eliminate the causes of alienation and domination.

I use Bourdieu's rallying cry for public intellectuals to pursue realist ideals as a springboard for the development of an empowering, transformative public pedagogy that can serve as a model for social change. I also use the multi-method approach that Fawcett and Hearn (2004) recommend for researching others within the critical tradition. This approach requires open-mindedness about the sociopolitical situation, "strong attention to historical context, a critical relation to the topic of research, a self-reflexivity of the researcher as author, an awareness of the social location of the author and the topic, consideration of the special bases of knowledge, commitment to political and social emancipation, and, where appropriate, empirical inquiry not just assertion and speculation" (p. 216).

Using two or more interpretive research practices in a research design has advantages. First, a multi-method approach helps make the research more rigorous because the use of different methods provides a way to check data for plausibility, authenticity, credibility, and relevance (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, 2000). Second, it helps make the research more holistic because different methods produce different kinds of data; changes in disposition, contexts, and relationships occur with changes in method in research situations (Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2000; Lather & Smithies, 1997). Third, a multi-method approach is important for researchers who "approach…the world with a set of ideas, a framework (theory, ontology) that specifies a set of questions (epistemology) that he or she then examines in specific ways (methodology, analysis)" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 18).

My dissertation methodology comprised seven interrelated components linked together through a reflexive approach. First, I studied the work of Pierre Bourdieu and explored his cultural constructs as a theoretical framework for my research. Second, I conducted a literature review to identify the social, cultural, and political forces that define the position of prostitutes and other sexual minorities in Canadian society. Third, I developed research questions to guide my investigations. Fourth, I identified the voices in our society that profoundly influence how prostitutes are treated: These include feminist voices as well as the ideologies espoused by organized religion. Fifth, I collected data about Canadians' attitudes toward sexual minorities and prostitutes by reviewing and analyzing selected newspaper reports. Sixth, I conducted a case study of the same-sex rights movement in Canada to increase my understanding of the position of sexual minorities and prostitutes within Canadian society. I also identified successful gay and lesbian strategies for social change that could serve as a public pedagogy model for dealing with prostitution. Seventh, I used Pierre Bourdieu's cultural constructs and the results of my research and investigations to theorize the emergence of a gender–sexuality field: I contend that this field serves as an appropriate social space for the implementation of a public pedagogy that advocates for the rights of prostitutes and other sexual minorities in Canada.

Developing a Theory

Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical conceptualizations about the structure of society help to shed light on the daily lives of prostitutes and other sexual minorities. They also help to explain the dynamic forces that define and influence the social position of prostitutes and sexual minorities. I use Bourdieu's theoretical constructs—including symbolic capital, habitus, fields, cultural arbitraries, misrecognition, and symbolic violence—as a starting point for developing a theory that explains the position of sexual minorities in Canadian society. My theory describes the underlying social structures that keep sexual minorities "in their place." It addresses the limitations and possibilities for social praxis, and explains why social activists face immense difficulties when attempting to facilitate social change for sexual minorities.

In the course of developing my theory, I define Bourdieu's key concepts and discuss their importance for my study. I compare the cultural experiences of prostitutes with the cultural experiences of other sexual minorities, and draw on lessons learned from the recent success of gay and lesbian people in having their rights as citizens recognized by Canadian courts and legislatures. The success of the same-sex marriage movement in particular offers insights into how social agency is possible despite enormous roadblocks.

Developing Research Questions

In formulating my theory, I considered seven interrelated research questions.

1. How do the shared stories of sexual minorities help enlighten our understanding of society's callous and violent treatment of these minorities?
2. How do Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical constructs enlighten and guide our understanding of the debased position of sexual minorities in Canadian society?
3. What do the structure and histories of our important institutions—particularly the justice system (police, courts, and legislatures), churches, and schools—teach us about the impact of these institutions upon the lives of prostitutes and other sexual minorities?
4. Does Canadian society control individuals in such a way that they are incapable of actively reflecting upon their position in society or their roles in perpetuating current hegemonic apparatuses? In short, are the actions of Canadians the product of subjective or objective forces, or both?

5. What role can individual citizens and institutions play in creating social change?
6. What impact do neoliberal and neoconservative ideologies have upon minorities in Canadian society, particularly upon prostitutes and other sexual minorities?
7. Can a transformative public pedagogy, implemented in partnership with public intellectuals and cultural workers, counterbalance institutional agendas and powerful neoliberal and neoconservative forces, and prevent the symbolic violence inflicted upon sexual minorities by our institutions and our civil society?

Developing a Comparative Cultural Case Study

> Culture…is an ideological superstructure that is reflective of socio-economic structures….Culture is rooted in history and expressed in action, consciousness and change. Culture…is the channel through which social relations are conducted. As a set of shared meanings, expectations and understanding, culture is manifested in symbolic communication—language, customs, myths as well as material artifacts. Culture consists of ideas that are selectively communicated, believed and legitimated often as knowledge. (Visano, 1998, p. 167)

A young woman walks a city street at night, alone, defenseless, in search of a trick and a few dollars to feed her need for drugs, food, and shelter. A gay youth walks through the hallways of his school suffering the taunts and insults of his peers, alone, defenseless, seeking escape. Both are survivors, still offering resistance to the onslaughts of the world. By surviving, they are heroes, personifying the powerful will of human beings resisting terrible adversities. They are heroes because they struggle onward despite the seeming hopelessness of their lives. They face their worlds with some degree of individual power, although their lives are largely controlled by implacable and omnipotent historical, cultural, social, and market forces. Their world is the market-driven, neoliberal/neoconservative reality of the 21st century.

It is my contention that the lives of the young woman and the gay youth are remarkably similar. What they share are lives that are governed by the heterosexual majority's inordinate fascination with and condemnation of sexual practices that deviate from the heterosexual "norm." Throughout this dissertation, I compare the cultural experiences of prostitutes with the experiences of gays, lesbians, and other sexual minorities. I also explore why the cultural experiences of prostitutes and other sexual minorities are different from the cultural experiences of other Canadians.

This dissertation is a qualitative sociological case study. Like other qualitative approaches, case study research interprets ideas and opinions in order to help researchers understand and explain social and cultural phenomena (Myers, 2007). In comparing the position of prostitutes to the position of other sexual minorities, I employed a collective historical case study technique, which Stake (2005) describes as a "number of cases…studied jointly in order to investigate a phenomenon, population, or general condition" (p. 445). Stake explains that the cases are chosen "because it is believed that understanding them will lead to better understanding, and perhaps better theorizing, about a still larger collection of cases" (p. 446). For each of the case study subjects I chose—including the lesbian, gay, gender neutral, bisexual, and transgendered communities—I examined the functioning, historical background, physical setting, and economic, political, legal, and aesthetic contexts. Throughout this dissertation, I compare and contrast the experiences of sexual minorities with the experiences of prostitutes.

Like other qualitative approaches, case study research interprets ideas and opinions in order to help researchers understand and explain social and cultural phenomena (Myers, 1997). It approaches issues from a holistic perspective that fosters "in-depth understanding of the situation and meaning for those involved. The interest is in process rather than outcomes, in context rather than a specific variable, in discovery rather than conformation. Insights gleaned from case studies can directly influence policy, practice, and future research" (Merriam, 1998, p. 19).

Merriam defines qualitative case studies as "intensive descriptions and analyses of a single unit or bounded system" (p. 19). She explains that case studies are "particularistic, descriptive and heuristic" (p. 29). My study is particularistic in that it focuses on a particular situation (namely, street prostitution in Canada) and because the study itself is important for what it reveals about the phenomenon of prostitution. It provides a rich, "thick" description of prostitution, interpreting the data in terms of cultural norms and mores, community values, deep-seated attitudes and motives, and in terms of the interplay of these variables (Becker et al., 2005). It is heuristic in that it examines empirical sources of data in order to deepen the reader's understanding of prostitution. It uses inductive reasoning to explore the relationships between variables and propose new ways of thinking about the issue—within the context of the emerging gender–sexuality field, for example. It concludes with new questions for future researchers to investigate. The public pedagogy model I offer with regard to street prostitution can be used as the starting point for probing discourses with other sexual minorities and with other social fields.

Data Collection

Case study research typically uses one or more techniques to collect empirical data (Myers, 2007). These techniques can include written data sources such as documents, texts, archival material, or newspaper articles. They can also include data from interviews or participant observations.

Literature Review

The literature review conducted for this dissertation addressed social, cultural, and political issues related to male and female prostitution—especially female street prostitution. The review included journal articles (including electronic journals), books, newspaper and magazine articles, government reports, and reports by nongovernmental organizations. The scope of the literature included legal responses to prostitution, prostitution legislation, prostitute profiles, customer profiles, community responses, moral regulation, and violence.

Narratives

Narratives provide an authentic way to access prostitutes' voices, and to study how the motives and practices of prostitutes are shaped in the intersection of institutional and individual contexts (Dhunpath, 2000; Grace & Benson, 2000; Lather & Smithies, 1997). My dissertation research included a review of memoirs, biographies, and first-person articles by a number of practicing and former prostitutes. These included Sarah de Vries, a street prostitute who was murdered in Vancouver at the Pickton pig farm; Kate Holden, whose memoir documents her journey through heroin addiction, street prostitution, and high-class brothels to her current success as a novelist; Carol-Lynn Strachan, an Edmonton prostitute who feels empowered by her chosen profession, and who maintains a highly visible public persona as a human rights advocate for prostitutes; and Kari Kesler, a feminist, sociologist, and former prostitute who explores the possibility of a feminist stance in support of prostitution. In Chapter 3 and Chapter 5, I present brief life stories of these and other women.

My purpose in reviewing narratives by prostitutes was to explore the experiences of prostitutes who work in a profession that is abhorred by the public at large. In seeking out the life histories of these men and women, I hoped to present human faces to the stereotyped and highly negative prostitute persona. I hoped to give voice to the voiceless, the forgotten, and the ignored. In doing so, one goal was to remove the cloak of invisibility that surrounds prostitutes by demonstrating, through individual life stories, that each prostitute is a unique, valuable person, not a mere stereotype. A second goal was to rupture the common assumption that "sex workers represent a homogeneous population" (Shaver, 2005, p. 306).

Court Cases and Legislation

My dissertation research included a review of Canada's *Criminal Code* as it relates to prostitution. I also analyzed the impact of pivotal court cases on the rights and lives of prostitutes, as well as cases (see Chapter 6) in which gays and lesbians challenged Canadian courts for citizenship and personhood rights. The results of these investigations enlightened my understanding of society's attitudes, assumptions, and biases about homosexuality, and of the double standards toward prostitution and toward all sexual minorities. They also provided insight into how the advancement of gay and lesbian Canadians in law and in the field of public opinion could guide and inform prostitution advocacy and agency.

Media Analysis

Over the course of my research, I reviewed daily issues of *The Globe and Mail* and *The Edmonton Journal* to track coverage on prostitutes and other sexual minorities. Information gathered from these reviews deepened my understanding of public attitudes and perceptions about issues related to homosexuality and street prostitution. My analysis included a detailed review of CBC coverage of the Pickton case, which I present in Chapter 6.

Limitations

In my dissertation proposal, I outlined my original plan to conduct four field research interviews with prostitutes who were working in or retired from the profession. My intention was to seek out men and women who were intelligent, articulate, and opinionated about the field of prostitution, and who worked or had worked as advocates for prostitutes. Firsthand testimony from individuals who had experience as prostitutes would have provided immediacy and legitimacy to my research, and helped me reflect upon the validity of my ideas. Prostitutes' voices would have provided compelling evidence that real people—interesting, complicated, worthwhile people—live behind the stereotypes that surround prostitution.

Unfortunately, the University of Alberta's research ethics board was unable to devise an appropriate policy for dealing with prostitutes as research subjects. One issue that could not be resolved was how to legally protect both the research subjects and the researcher given that most of the activity surrounding prostitution is illegal. Second, there was concern that the confidentiality of research subjects could not be guaranteed. Third, there was concern that the research subjects might feel coerced into participating in the study because of their vulnerable position in society. Fourth, there was concern that research materials might be subject to police inspection, thus potentially resulting in research subjects being indicted for criminal activity.

Analysis Techniques

The mode of analysis I used for my dissertation was hermeneutic (Myers, 2007). In attempting to make sense of prostitution and to understand the relationships between the various aspects of the issue, my reflection moved from the whole to the parts and back again. My analysis process was ongoing throughout the data collection, literature review, and theory formulation phases of my research. Throughout the process, my ultimate goal was to construct a theory that explains the position of sexual minorities in Canada, and to apply that theory toward a public pedagogical model of social agency.

A Reflexive Approach

Abercrombie, Hill, and Turner (2000) define the reflexive method as an approach in which people, particularly in modern societies, constantly examine their own practices, and in the light of that examination, alter them. As I developed my dissertation, I used a reflexive approach to reflect upon my own biases and prejudices, and upon my preconceived or unthinking acceptance of certain ideas that I held to be true. I reflected upon Bourdieu's concept of the cultural arbitrary, which proposes that truth is socially constructed and thus should always be subjected to a reflexive gaze. In addition, I worked from the assumption that no absolute truth or absolute good would emerge from my research investigations, but rather, that the apprehension of absolutes must, by definition, always be a work in progress.

Bourdieu describes the process of reflexivity as the inculcation of a reflexive instinct whereby the researcher learns to objectify subjective realities and, in turn, to objectify his or her objectification. Bourdieu (cited in Smart, 1999) argues that reflexive sociology "can help free intellectuals from their illusions—and first of all, from the illusion that they do not have any, especially about themselves" (p. 84). Bourdieu argues that reflexive practice can help free the researcher from the particular economic, cultural, and social interests that distort the singular pursuit of ideal interests (Swartz, 1997). He maintains that researchers must continuously question their assumptions, beliefs, instincts, ideas, and motivations: The extent to which researchers can stand apart from themselves and objectively watch themselves in action in part determines the success of their research and thinking practices.

Bourdieu was primarily interested in reflexive practice as a research technique. I believe that reflexive practices can be adopted by citizens, institutions, and states, and that public pedagogy has an important role to play in stimulating reflexive practices in society. In Chapter 7, I outline how my own thinking about gender and sexuality evolved over the course of my research. Throughout my work, I was guided by Bourdieu's insistence that social activists think about change as the pursuit of realist ideals that can support the building of a better, more just world. I applied Bourdieu's thinking on reflexivity to develop a public pedagogy that can guide and inspire citizens and institutions to reflect upon and adjust long-standing cultural values and traditions that negatively affect the position of street prostitutes and other sexual minorities in Canadian society.

A Postmodern Gaze

I position myself in my study as a postmodern critical theorist. A postmodern perspective opens spaces for deliberation about the nature of sexuality, the possibility of multiple truths, the acceptance of evolving epistemologies, and the sanctity of individual experience: It rejoices in the diversity of human reality. A critical perspective explores the ethical treatment of subjects and possibilities for individual agency within local, national, and international environments. I champion the spirit of postmodernity to the degree that I embrace the disassembling of modernity's sacred and rigid beliefs, particularly those moral or religious beliefs traditionally applied to sexual minorities and to sexuality. I support Harris' (2006) assertion that Christian "efforts to constrain the sexual behavior of consenting adults…are almost never geared toward the relief of human suffering" (p. 26). I champion postmodernity's willingness to contemplate and validate a multiplicity of truths and realities, and I embrace postmodern politics, which Bell (1994) describes as "micropolitics in a global context: a politics of the local and the particular, a politics of racial, sexual, and cultural/subcultural difference brought together in shifting alliances" (p. 5). At the same time, I am a critical theorist mediating the tensions between the critical and the postmodern because I hold that some truths are indeed sacred and must be protected. For example, I champion the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, which holds that "everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of the person." In taking this position, as I explain in Chapter 5, I side against feminist discourses that ignore the daily struggles of prostitutes to secure some degree of life, liberty, and security of person. By demanding the immediate elimination of all forms of sex work, radical feminists, for example, deny the possibility that some individuals may achieve a sense of empowerment and fulfillment from sex work.

As I explain in Chapter 5, some radical feminists take strong exception to postmodern theorizing. I favor the position developed by those postmodern feminists who support what Bell describes as "the development of a pluralist sexual ethics which holds that no noncoercive sexual act, sexual identity, sexual community, or sexual object choice is morally or medically privileged over others as closer to some sexual ideal" (p. 93). Postmodernity offers me an intellectual climate within which to explore a multiplicity of options. New genders are emerging. New sexualities are being embraced and legitimized. Within this milieu, as Butler (2004) suggests, our challenge is to develop, "within law, within psychiatry, within social and literary theory, a new legitimating lexicon for the gender complexity that we have always been living" (p. 219). Postmodern theorists open "spaces for a multiplicity of sexual voices" (Bell, p. 93). It is my position that this "multiplicity of sexual voices" must and should include prostitutes' voices.

A Guide to This Document

Chapter 2 presents a review of literature that discusses the four legal approaches to prostitution, namely, criminalization, decriminalization, regulation, and abolitionism. It presents a brief history of prostitution-related legislation in Canada. (The effects of such legislation are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.) It provides an overview of Canadians' attitudes toward prostitutes and prostitution. It presents a number of researchers' views about the socioeconomic and psychological factors that lead young people into prostitution, and provides a glimpse into the lives of male and female street prostitutes. It presents the motivations of the customers who buy prostitutes' services, as well as a number of viewpoints on the effectiveness of prostitution deterrents such as john schools.

Chapter 3 presents the sociocultural context in which prostitution exists, and explores a number of parallels between the experiences of prostitutes and those of other sexual minorities in Canada. It makes the case that all sexual minorities are victims of what I call sexification—that is, bigotry and prejudice that identifies individuals only as sexual bodies and renders their humanity invisible. The chapter provides details about Canadians' attitudes toward prostitution. It also provides evidence that these attitudes support social and legislative institutions that deprive prostitutes of their dignity and their rights, and force them into dangerous environments where violence and even murder are daily realities.

Chapter 4 outlines Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical conceptualizations about the structure and workings of society, and uses these to analyze and explain the position of prostitutes and other sexual minorities in Canadian society. The chapter deals with the sociological debate between subjectivism and objectivism in social practice. It explains how the interplay between Bourdieusian constructs such as habitus, capital, field, symbolic violence, cultural arbitraries, and misrecognition serves to define sexual minorities and keep them in their place. It distills the lessons learned from studying prostitution through a Bourdieusian lens into a number of implications for public pedagogy.

Chapter 5 presents an analysis of the various voices that speak for and about prostitution in Canada. Feminist discourses on prostitution are a major focus of the chapter. These discourses are set in counterpoint to first-person, prostitutes' voices on topics such as sexuality, agency, empowerment, stereotypes, and discrimination. In this chapter, I justify the legitimacy of my own voice as a heterosexual, male defender of prostitutes' rights. I make a case for the decriminalization of prostitution, and I identify how lessons learned from feminist discourses apply to public pedagogy.

Chapter 6 presents Canada's struggle to achieve same-sex marriage rights as a public pedagogy case study. The chapter outlines the debate for and against same-sex marriage. It positions the debate within the context of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, and traces the slow but steady change in social attitudes that led to the legal recognition of same-sex marriage rights. The case study illustrates that the issues surrounding same-sex marriage—like those surrounding prostitution—are fundamentally issues of human dignity and human rights. The social activism strategies used by the gay and lesbian community to secure these rights model a powerful public pedagogy that can be used to help prostitutes secure the rights to which they are entitled.

Chapter 7 applies Bourdieu's theoretical constructs to enhance the public pedagogy model illustrated in the same-sex marriage case study. It theorizes the existence of an emerging gender–sexuality field within which heterosexual bigotry can be questioned and challenged. It positions Canada's gay and lesbian community as collective intellectuals who can lead a political pedagogy of hope that builds a society in which all citizens—whether mainstream or minority—are equal.

CHAPTER 2: A LITERATURE REVIEW

The focus of this review is literature that addresses social, cultural, and political issues related to male and female prostitution—especially female street prostitution. Its goal is to provide an overview of the body of literature pertaining to street prostitution. The review includes journal articles (including electronic journals), books, newspaper and magazine articles, government reports, and reports by nongovernmental organizations. The scope of the literature analyzed includes legal responses to prostitution, prostitution legislation, prostitute profiles, feminist theorizing, and material covering customer profiles, community responses, moral regulation, and violence.

Four Legal Approaches to Prostitution

The four principal legal approaches to adult prostitution are criminalization, abolitionism, decriminalization, and regulation. Most countries adopt blended approaches. In Canada, the prostitution of anyone under the age of 18 is illegal (Nixon, Tutty, Downe, Gorkoff, & Ursel, 2002). All the literature acknowledges that prostitution is a very divisive, contentious, and difficult issue with no easy solutions.

Criminalization

Those who advocate the complete criminalization of prostitution favor the elimination of all forms of prostitution. Canada assumes a contradictory, quasi-criminalization stance, which dictates that prostitution itself is legal but communicating about prostitution and providing venues where prostitution is practiced are not (Lowman, 2000; Hatch & Faith, 1989; Davis, 1994; Allinott et al., 2004; Childs et al., 2006; House of Commons, 2006). Section 210 of Canada's *Criminal Code* criminalizes running, owning, or inhabiting a common bawdyhouse (House of Commons, 2006). Section 211 criminalizes the transportation of people to bawdyhouses. Section 212(1) criminalizes procuring for the purposes of prostitution and living on the avails of prostitution, and section 213(1), the communication law, criminalizes solicitation (Matas, 2007; Bittle, 2002a). Opponents of criminalization believe that, collectively, these laws have negatively affected the safety and the lives of prostitutes.

In 1999, Sweden criminalized the purchase of sexual services in all venues: Sweden is determined to eliminate all forms of male violence against women, including prostitution (Ekberg, 2004; Pettersson & Tiby, 2003; Raymond, 2004).

Decriminalization

Decriminalization, sometimes known as legalization, is the antithesis of criminalization. It involves the complete removal of legal sanctions against prostitution (John Howard Society of Alberta, 2001; Davis, 1994). Decriminalization is favored by prostitutes' rights groups that advocate giving prostitutes legal equality with other citizens, and thereby eliminating the marginalized status of prostitutes within the criminal justice system. If prostitution were decriminalized, prostitutes would be protected by existing criminal codes that protect women from male violence, for example, and from exploitation by pimps (Department of Justice, 1998). A comparable approach, initiated in New Zealand in May 2003, decriminalizes prostitution for public health reasons and to protect children (Farley, 2004). It is too soon to tell if the New Zealand approach has been effective in achieving its goal.

Some advocates of criminalization fear that the decriminalization of adult prostitution would hurt child prostitutes because child and adult prostitution are inevitably interwoven: They believe that only complete abolition of all prostitution will protect children (Jeffreys, 2000).

Regulation

Regulation is a term that is sometimes used interchangeably with decriminalization or legalization. Regulation is generally understood in terms of monitoring prostitution activities by licensing prostitution businesses and collecting business taxes. Advocates of regulation believe that increasing state supervision would enhance the safety of prostitutes and their customers (Robertson, 1999; Davis, 1994). Nevada's legalized brothel prostitution is an example of a regulated approach. State regulation is designed to lessen the violence and disease that prostitutes would otherwise face in criminalized environments (Brents & Hausbeck, 2005).

Abolitionism

Abolitionism criminalizes pimps and johns while decriminalizing the activities of prostitutes (Davis, 1994). This approach is based on the belief that prostitutes are victims, not criminals.

Some feminists support abolitionism that offers prostitutes freedom from criminalization (Cler-Cunningham & Christensen, 2001). On the other hand, advocates for the rights and safety of street prostitutes are adamant that abolitionism and criminalization simply force prostitutes to work in remote areas where customers may feel safer, but where prostitutes face dangerous situations. In addition, abolitionism denies sex workers the right to make their own decisions and plan their own lives. Although the activities of prostitutes are decriminalized under an abolitionist approach, prostitutes remain second-class citizens because, for them, the law does not protect the basic rights that other Canadians enjoy: These rights include the right to security, physical and psychological safety, individual autonomy, dignity, and economic well-being (Hanes, 2007; Allinott et al., 2004).

Prostitution Legislation: Canada

In Canada during the mid-1800s, any woman, whether a prostitute or not, could be arrested in a public place if she was unable to satisfactorily explain her presence to a police officer (Bittle, 2002b). In 1892, in Canada's first *Criminal Code*, s. 175(1)(c), known as the Vagrancy C law (Vag C), determined that a woman was a vagrant if she was a "common prostitute or nightwalker" who was "found in a public place" and could not, "when required, give a good account of herself" (Robertson, 1999). In effect, this law criminalized the gender of a woman, not her acts of prostitution (Brock, 1998). Under Vag C, the police assumed the power to regulate the morals of women by detaining them overnight and forcing them to undergo medical exams (Brock, 1998; Bittle, 2002b).

The Department of Justice (1998) report on prostitution notes that "changing times and objections from civil libertarians and women's groups" (Part 1) eventually compelled the Canadian federal government to enact adjustments to prostitution laws. The contemporary direction of Canadian prostitution legislation dates to 1972, with the repeal of Vag C. In 1972, the government replaced Vag C with the soliciting law—s. 195(1) of the *Criminal Code*. This shifted the focus of prostitution law from the criminalization of an individual's status to one of soliciting for the purpose of prostitution (Davis, 1994; Allinott et al., 2004). Robertson (1999) explains that, under the new code, prostitution was not illegal, but soliciting or publicly obtaining customers became illegal: "Every person who solicits any person in a public place for the purpose of prostitution is guilty of a summary conviction offence." Robertson notes that the soliciting law quickly fell into disfavor with community groups and the police because police were seldom able to obtain sufficient evidence to convict prostitutes. For example, in 1978, the judge in *Regina v. Hutt* ruled that the act of soliciting must involve "pressing and persistent" (p. 3) behavior directed toward only one person. Furthermore, police were not allowed to define the interior of an automobile as a public place. In the aftermath of *Regina v. Hutt*, police forces came to believe that the soliciting law was unenforceable, and by the early 1980s, it was seldom used (Bittle, 2002b; Brock, 1998). On December 20, 1985, the soliciting law was repealed and replaced with the communicating law—s. 213 of the *Criminal Code*. The Canadian government hoped the new law would provide the police and the courts with more effective judicial tools for dealing with prostitution. The goal of the legislators was the abolishment of street prostitution. S. 213 of the *Criminal Code* prohibits any communication for prostitution purposes by men or women. The intent of s. 213 is to ensure that both prostitutes and their customers can be prosecuted (Robertson, 1999; Brock, 1998; Bittle, 2002b).

S. 213 attempts to clarify the description of a "public place," which had been a contentious issue in the previous legislation, as being any space open to the public—including the interior of automobiles. Although prostitution is legal in Canada, and although freedom of expression is guaranteed in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, s. 213 disallows any communication for the buying or selling of sex within the privacy of privately owned vehicles (Allinott et al., 2004).

Legal and Societal Double Standards

Double standards are clearly evident in parliamentary debates and in public discourses around the issue of prostitution. Parliamentarians and community groups are scandalized when johns and prostitutes communicate publicly for the purpose of sex. But such activity is acceptable if it is hidden away in massage parlors or bawdyhouses.

Society's biases and double standards are also evident in legal cases dealing with sexual minorities. For example, MacDougall (2000) notes that in the 1979 *Re Priape Enrg.* case, where the court was charged with evaluating whether certain gay publications were obscene, the judge made the point that the public is not prepared to accept two gay men kissing in a park even though kissing in public is acceptable for heterosexual couples. MacDougall quotes David Dyzenhaus' criticism of judges who look to "public offensiveness as a determinant in expression cases" (p. 73). Dyzenhaus concludes that homophobes are upset with public gestures of affection because "what matters is that in public they are forced to confront clear evidence of what is likely happening in private" (p. 73). Like prostitution, homosexuality is legal, but must remain invisible.

Prostitution and Society: Canada

Canada's system of quasi-criminalization attempts to address the concerns of a cacophony of competing voices fiercely debating how to respond to the enduring presence of prostitution and its many attendant issues. The literature on Canadian prostitution clearly indicates that prostitutes, both male and female, are subjected to undue suffering thanks to the absence of a coherent, rational, and holistic prostitution policy.

Predictors of Involvement in Prostitution: Family Neglect and Violence

Researchers have studied socioeconomic and psychological factors to explain how male and female youth become involved in prostitution. The literature reveals that researchers do not always agree on what the important risk factors for prostitution are. Risk factors identified in many studies include childhood physical and sexual abuse (Bittle, 2002b), earlier than usual intercourse, having more sexual partners than other boys and girls (Pedersen & Hegna, 2002), psychological problems and stress caused by personal abuse (Potter, Martin & Romans, 1999), lack of parental control (Brannigan & Gibbs Van Brunschot, 1997; MacInnes, 1998), homelessness, drug and alcohol dependence, and single parenthood (Chase & Statham, 2005). Some studies indicate that two of three children who have been sexually abused are sexually revictimized: This may suggest that a pattern of sexual abuse is positively correlated with entry into prostitution (Classen, Palesh, & Aggarwal, 2005; Noll, 2005).

Although a number of researchers conclude that there is a positive correlation between childhood sexual abuse and entry into prostitution, some studies disagree. Gibbs Van Brunschot and Brannigan (2002) found that children who have been sexually abused are not at higher risk of becoming prostitutes, but that sexually abused children are at higher risk of becoming suicidal or being expelled from school. Other researchers note that evidence of rape, incest, and other forms of sexual abuse seems to explain entry into prostitution, but the evidence tends to be contradictory (Siegel & Williams, 2003; MacInnes, 1998). Some evidence exists that a more plausible predictor for prostitution should be based on general control theories, which suggest that weak parental control is directly correlated with delinquency and prostitution (Brannigan & Gibbs Van Brunschot, 1997). In Canada, the Badgley Committee in 1984 undertook extensive research about youth prostitution and concluded that youth who became prostitutes had not experienced higher than average rates of sexual abuse (Bittle, 2002b). Siegel & Williams (2003) observe that the majority of girls who experience sexual abuse are not arrested for prostitution, either as juveniles or as adults.

Street Violence

Street prostitutes experience violence in many forms, including interpersonal violence (Brents & Hausbeck, 2005), violence between prostitutes and community groups (Lowman, 2000), violence between prostitutes and pimps (Raphael & Shapiro, 2004), violence between prostitutes and police (Nixon et al., 2002; Howard et al., 2002), and violence between prostitutes and johns (Kurtz, Surratt, Inciardi, & Kiley, 2004; Lowman & Fraser, 1995). Street prostitutes experience spiritual and psychological violence inflicted by the trauma of living with the daily fear of violence or murder (Romero-Daza, Weeks, & Singer, 2003). Street prostitutes experience violence to their bodies in the form of drug and alcohol abuse and sexually transmitted infections (Mill, 1997).

Street prostitutes and street youth identify histories of abuse, friends' deaths, victimization, and prostitution as contributing factors in suicide attempts. They also list feeling trapped, hopeless, worthless, and alone as causes of suicidal thoughts. One study of 80 street youth in Toronto and Vancouver found that 58% of young women and 39% of young men had attempted suicide at least once. Some researchers suggest that the abuse of drugs may be a form of slow suicide (Kidd, 2004).

Violence experienced by prostitutes is often described in terms of time and space. For example, street prostitutes are subject to increased rates of physical violence when working in isolated urban areas at night (Raphael & Shapiro, 2004; Lowman, 2000). Some data suggest that street prostitutes are subject to a higher frequency of physical, emotional, and sexual violence than those who work in off-street venues (Cler-Cunningham & Christensen, 2001; Lowman, 2000; Dalla, Xia, & Kennedy, 2003). Street prostitutes are subject to criminal sanction because of the public nature of their activities. They are subject to condemnation, criminalization, and policing because of their visibility (el Akkad, 2007; Razack, 1998).

Prostitutes have difficulty turning to police for support and protection. Howard et al. (2002) explain that the police themselves are agents of violence.

> Police abuse of authority is systemic and widespread….Being poor is not a crime, and the fundamental rights stated in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms are granted to every person in Canada regardless of socioeconomic status, disability or place of birth. In Canada, everyone is entitled to both the benefit and the burden of law. The selective infliction of punishment on the most impoverished and marginalized members of our society corrodes that important democratic value, and fosters a system of police enforcement dependent on whim and prejudice, not the rule of law. (p. 2)

Street Prostitutes: The Blurring of Public and Private Lives

Prostitutes experience stress and trauma in many aspects of their lives. Unlike people who live and work in more traditional environments, prostitutes may not have the love and support of private partners in romantic relationships. They may feel they cannot share their experiences with their partners, who may be jealous of their activities. They may face physical and psychological abuse from jealous mates (Warr & Pyrett, 1999; Romans et al., 2001). They may allow their romantic partners to have sex without using condoms, thus spreading HIV and STDs. They may have to sacrifice their personal relationships because they need money from prostitution to support their children or to support their drug habits (Raphael & Shapiro, 2004).

Most prostitutes report that their romantic relationships are based only on sex and drugs. The pimps and partners of female prostitutes often share a number of characteristics, including inflicting physical violence and abuse, fathering their children, being aware of and participating in drug-related activities, and introducing the women to the streets. Furthermore, prostitutes seldom report close or nurturing relationships with their parents or their extended families (Dalla, 2001).

Street prostitutes often have conflicting views on the degree of agency they possess. On the one hand, they argue that sex work is necessary for survival and that they have no other choices. On the other hand, they claim a high level of agency because prostitution offers them money and excitement in a world that is essentially meaningless (Plumridge, 2001).

Prostitutes often engage in high-risk behaviors such as intravenous drug use and working while high on drugs or alcohol. When prostitutes are high, they make unwise decisions about which johns are safe and which are dangerous, and they make unwise decisions when they acquiesce to johns' requests not to wear condoms. Such decisions may result in HIV infection, physical violence, or even murder. Some researchers suggest that the high-risk behaviors employed by prostitutes are essentially survival techniques: Drugs and alcohol help prostitutes stomach the demands and the danger of their work and their environment. The challenge for researchers is to determine whether prostitutes who indulge in high-risk behaviors are sovereign, rational agents or individuals controlled by social and cultural structures (Mill, 1997; Plumridge, 2001).

Male Prostitutes

Relatively little research has been conducted on male prostitutes. This may be a reflection of society's fear and ignorance regarding homosexuality, although approximately 50% of male prostitutes self-report being heterosexual (Janoff, 2005). Other factors may include the relative invisibility of male prostitutes, and the fact that there are far fewer male than female prostitutes (Allman, 1999).

The literature shows that male and female prostitutes share similar experiences, including parental abuse, drug and alcohol abuse, promiscuity, and early sexual activity (Allman, 1999). However, unlike female sex workers, males rarely work with pimps, and are much less likely to be the victims of customer violence. Only a small percentage of murdered sex workers are male. While male sex workers do experience violence, it is generally violence inflicted by homophobic bystanders in the form of assault and robbery, or in the form of police detention (Allman, 1999; Scott et al., 2005). Johnson (2004) reports that a "large majority of juvenile male prostitutes are gay, [and]…their risk of contracting HIV is much higher than that of female prostitutes" (p. 214). The rate of survival prostitution—using prostitution for food and shelter—is less common for males than for females (Allman, 1999). However, some theorists suggest that the number of male prostitutes involved in survival sex has been increasing, and that male prostitutes tend to be unemployable, with no work skills and poor literacy (Department of Justice, 1998; Brock, 1998). Men generally leave sex work in their early 20s—a much younger age than women——because they are unable to compete with younger men.

The Canadian public is ambivalent about the welfare of male sex workers. Because male prostitutes are largely invisible, the public ignores the factors that contribute to boys entering prostitution. The violence experienced by male sex workers, the harm caused by Canadian laws, and the psychological damage caused by the prevailing belief that male sex workers are immoral seem unimportant for Canadian society (Allman, 1999; Janoff, 2005).

Customer Profiles

Johns or dates—the terms female prostitutes use for their male customers—have traditionally received little attention either in scholarly research or from legislators, police, or community groups (Monto, 2004; Bernstein, 2001). During the industrial age, women practicing prostitution received the censure and condemnation of society, while the activities of their male customers were deemed to be natural and normal. Several developments during the past two decades have helped direct more legal and academic attention toward understanding and controlling prostitution's male customers. Feminists decried the fact that prostitutes were being arrested at far higher rates than their johns. Prostitute support groups lobbied for protection for female prostitutes, particularly street prostitutes, who were victims of high rates of violence inflicted by their customers. Communities expressed their unhappiness that street prostitution continued despite laws that criminalize public displays of prostitution. Governments, institutions, and community groups responded by initiating diversion programs such as john schools, vehicle impoundment, and shaming campaigns. The latter often include tactics such as publishing johns' names in local newspapers in an effort to convince johns to stop buying the services of prostitutes (Audette, 2007b; Wortley, Fischer, & Webster, 2002; Gibbs Van Brunschot, 2003).

Customer Motivations

Only during the past decade has empirical evidence been gathered to help explain some of the motivations of men who seek the services of prostitutes (Bernstein, 2001). Male customers' motivations may include an inability to establish relationships with women, a desire for companionship when traveling, partners who are unwilling to have sex, a desire for unconventional sex, a desire to have many sexual partners, an enjoyment of illicit sexual encounters, a desire to have uncomplicated sex or to avoid the responsibilities of relationships, a belief that sex with prostitutes is less risky than extramarital affairs, and a desire for immediate sexual gratification (Monto, 2004).

Male customers may be attracted to the bounded authenticity of sexual encounters with prostitutes. That is, johns may convince themselves that their encounters with prostitutes are authentic romantic encounters delimited by the exchange of money for erotic services. In a time when marriage rates are declining, divorce rates are increasing, and single-person households are common, some men believe that it is not unreasonable for men to seek erotic encounters outside the more traditional romantic relationship (Bernstein, 2001).

Monto (2004) explains that some theorists describe male customers as sexual predators who hunt women with the goal of hurting them. Other theorists believe that only a minority of customers subscribe to a belief in rape myths, which hold that violence against women is natural and normal, and that women deserve to be abused or ask to be raped. Rape myths, which are consistent with a patriarchal mentality, help to explain why some men attack female prostitutes.

John Schools

In Canada during the 1990s, despite changes in legislation and the introduction of community strategies such as shaming and publicizing johns' names, urban communities became increasingly unhappy with the continued presence of prostitutes on their streets (Wortley et al., 2002). Politicians, lawmakers, and police faced mounting pressure for solutions to the prostitution problem. In 1996 Toronto responded by launching a John School Diversion Program based upon a concept that originated in San Francisco in the early 1990s. Under this offender program, men who are arrested for solicitation under s. 213 of the *Criminal Code* are offered the opportunity to attend "john school" for a one-day course that costs $400. If they successfully complete the course, their charges are dropped (Fisher, Wortley, Webster, & Kirst, 2002; Gibbs Van Brunschot, 2003).

John school courses tend to focus on issues related to prostitution, and spend very little time on the offence for which the men were arrested: namely, communicating for sex. This suggests that the primary goal of offender programs is moral regulation. Critics question this approach: If prostitution—and not communication for prostitution—is perceived to be the problem, why are offender programs exclusively concerned with street prostitution (Gibbs Van Brunschot, 2003)? Furthermore, john schools, in partnership with the police, may be helping communities achieve the goal of making street prostitution invisible by making its formerly invisible customers visible. The result is that customers and prostitutes attempt to escape police harassment by moving their activities to isolated areas. A benefit for the police is that they (the police) become more visible in the public eye: They are seen to be doing their jobs by arresting offenders, thus legitimatizing their existence and their budgets (Davis, 1994; Gibbs Van Brunschot, 2003).

John schools are symptomatic of a recent movement toward punishing those who buy sex, not those who sell sex. Activists who lobby for safer working conditions for street prostitutes argue that offender programs create a system of quasi-criminalization where offenders are punished by the law, but prostitutes are not protected by the law. Activists suggest that the abolitionist wing of the feminist movement wants the law to attack customers, but does not want the law to treat prostitutes as regular members of society. The result is that violence continues to be inflicted upon street prostitutes, and the stigmatized position of prostitutes means that police are slow to respond to their requests for protection (Cler-Cunningham & Christensen, 2001; Lowman & Fraser, 1995).

CHAPTER 3: SETTING THE STAGE – A SOCIOCULTURAL COMMENTARY ON THE POWER OF SEXIFICATION

> She was a broken down angel. (Sarah de Vries cited in Cler-Cunningham & Christensen, 2001, p. 105)

> There have been at least 13 unsolved murders involving sex trade workers in…[Edmonton] since 1988….Even when not being stalked by a murderer, the life of a prostitute is often nasty, brutish and short. (Bergman, 2005, pp. 42–43)

> Untold scores of society's most vulnerable members—young aboriginal women—have gone missing across Canada only to be forsaken by a jaded society….Public apathy has allowed predators to stalk native victims with near impunity. The record…points to an ugly truth behind the political and legal lethargy: racism. (Bronksill & Bailey, 2005, p. E4)

This chapter explores a number of interesting parallels between the experiences of prostitutes and those of other sexual minorities. It is my belief that most sexual minorities—including prostitutes—receive an inordinate degree of suspicion and condemnation based solely on their sexual practices. They are identified as sexual beings first, and as human beings later, if at all. The identification and condemnation of alternative sexual practices, including heterosexual practices that vary from the monogamous marriage model, is a form of bigotry and prejudice that I refer to as sexification. The result of sexification is that deviation from the heterosexual, monogamous model of human sexuality has historically been and remains today a dangerous and difficult life choice.

Canadians have a history of turning a blind eye to the human suffering that is daily endured by all individuals who choose to participate in sexual practices that depart from the heterosexual norm. The result is that prostitutes and sexual minorities are victims of sexification. Both groups suffer greatly at the hands of state and religious leaders, civil society, the justice system, and vigilante community groups. The suffering of sexual minorities is a reality. It is always painful and always destructive. It rips at the heart of our social fabric. It degrades both the oppressors and the oppressed.

As shown in Table 1 (see p. 53), the majority of Canadians believe prostitution to be immoral, ranking only pedophilia and adultery as being more serious. But although prostitution is still taboo, there is some evidence that Canadian society is beginning to take a more tolerant stance toward our gay brothers and lesbian sisters. The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* has motivated our courts and our legislatures to protect the rights of homosexuals—including the right to marry. (See Chapter 6 for a case study of same-sex marriage advocacy in Canada.) However, tolerance is not necessarily acceptance. In fact, tolerance may be the sublime face of a hidden enemy. As Clarke (2000) cautions, the inclusion of gays and lesbians within the public sphere may not signal a sincere transformation of public attitudes. Clarke explains:

> [T]he claim that inclusion both signals and generates tolerance is…mistaken, if for no other reason than its own failure to recognize tolerance for what it is: the transformation of political

> aspiration into a managed inequity. Tolerance is the ruse by which respect for differences covers over a legitimated disrespect. Tolerance is thus a false hope because it engenders a false sense of democratic sociality and belonging. (pp. 171–172)

As for prostitution, there is a remote possibility that Canadians may be in the early stages of becoming embarrassed by the high rate of murder among our prostitutes. A few lonely voices are beginning to suggest that perhaps measures should be pursued to help protect prostitutes. However, the voices are fewer still who suggest that men and women who are employed as sex workers are worthy citizens who deserve the legal rights and the respect most Canadians enjoy. In contrast to some of the hopeful advances made by gay men and lesbian women, there is little or no evidence to support the hope that inclusion and tolerance for prostitutes will soon be a reality in Canadian society.

Table 1: What Canadians consider immoral, as found in a Leger Marketing survey conducted in 2006 (cited in Moore, 2006).

	OVERALL	MEN	WOMEN
Pedophilia	81%	78%	84%
Extramarital affairs	74%	68%	81%
Prostitution	68%	59%	76%
Alcohol abuse	65%	59%	70%
Sexual relations before age 16	65%	61%	68%
Pornographic films	58%	46%	68%
Blasphemy	51%	45%	57%
Abortion	34%	35%	33%
Homosexuality	31%	37%	26%
Divorce	17%	19%	16%

Disturbing Testimonials

Ince (2003) notes that the "state's modern war on all forms of prostitution will someday be remembered as one of the most pernicious forms of discrimination afflicting democratic nations in the early years of the twenty-first century" (p. 226). Although my own belief is that human beings have an almost inexhaustible capacity for inflicting pain upon fellow human beings, for virtually any reason whatsoever, it remains true that many Canadians believe that prostitutes and their customers are immoral, corrupt, and deserving of society's ridicule and disdain. Gudgeon (2003) offers data from a 2002 study, conducted by Leger Marketing, which found that, among Canadians, "more than 68 per cent of adults surveyed considered prostitution simply immoral" (p. 147). As shown in Table 1, there was no shift in this attitude between 2002 and 2006. This censure of prostitution explains why Canadians do not respond with shock and anger when the media report stories about beaten or murdered prostitutes. In fact, stories of prostitutes being murdered or brutalized seldom receive more than a muted condemnation among the Canadian citizenry or in the media. And when such stories do receive media attention, citizens are quick to protest. (See Chapter 6 for Canadians' reaction to CBC News coverage of the Pickton trial.)

Society's criminalization of sex work is interpreted by a sick, fringe element of society as tacit support for murderous acts. In fact, many people seem to believe that prostitutes deserve whatever fate they encounter. A morbid, chilling testament by Gary Ridgway (2003), the Green River killer who strangled 48 women, graphically illustrates the twisted mentality of a man who thinks of himself as being a good person who just happens to murder prostitutes.

> I am a killer of street ladies, not a raper.
> I never stabbed any person with a screwdriver or putty knife.
> I never killed or hit anybody with a bat, club, or big stick (two-by-four).
> I never ran anybody over with car, truck, bike to kill or hurt them.
> I never shot anybody to kill or wound them.
> I never tinted my windows so people couldn't see in.
> I never killed any lady that wasn't having some sort of sex for money or rides (no joggers, shop people, neighbors, school kids).
> I didn't smoke cigs pipes cigars or chewed tobacco.
> No hitting, slapping to any person.
> Every lady I did not kill got paid what we both agreed on.
> I never used duct tape on any person.
> I never used a box cutter on anybody. I bought my ladies, I didn't use force.
> I never drugged or got any person drunk to take advantage of them. Did not need to, my way worked out faster. Less trouble. (p. 25)

Until Canada treats prostitutes with the support and respect accorded to mainstream Canadians, they will continue to be victimized by the sociopathic elements of our society.

The debased and disenfranchised position of prostitutes in Canadian society perhaps needs no better illustration than that of the Pickton pig farm case in southwest British Columbia, where at least 50 prostitutes were tortured and murdered. Robert Pickton's pig farm serves as a compelling case study of the dynamics that characterize society's relationship with its prostitutes. Although dozens of prostitutes were reported missing over a period of several years, and although the Pickton farm was under suspicion, the political will needed to jump-start the investigation was lacking.

Rod Mickleburgh, a columnist for *The Globe and Mail*, reported on March 18, 2002, that in 1997 an RCMP officer who had investigated a violent crime against a prostitute at the Pickton farm became concerned about a "serial predator" at the farm (p. A1). The officer recommended keeping the farm under surveillance. Mickleburgh's news story also noted that, in 1999, Kim Rossmo, an inspector-detective with the Vancouver police, identified Robert Pickton as being a "good suspect" in the disappearance of numerous prostitutes. Despite these warnings, surveillance of Robert Pickton and the farm was rejected as too expensive and requiring too many people. Only after many years and numerous murders did the plight of Vancouver's prostitutes become too horrible and too public for the police and the general populace to ignore. On December 15, 2003, Robert Pickton was finally indicted for the murders of 22 prostitutes ("Pickton Faces More Murder Charges," 2003). He was charged with the murders of an additional five women before his case went to trail in January 2007, although one charge was eventually dropped (Cameron, 2007).

The Pickton story is revealing from several perspectives. Although one rationale for the police failing to investigate missing prostitutes is that police funding was insufficient, members of the police did not lobby Vancouver's city hall for additional funds. Although Inspector-Detective Rossmo applied his geographic profiling technique to numerous disappearances of prostitutes, his findings were ignored by the police because of a power struggle between Rossmo and others in the police department. Although many relatives of the missing prostitutes conducted their own investigations, and discovered numerous stories of women who went missing after partying at the Pickton farm, their reports to police were generally ignored. The harsh truth is that the victims' social position in Canadian society was insufficiently significant to warrant a response by the authorities.

As I note with this chapter's introductory quote, a similar tragedy is unfolding in Edmonton, Alberta, where, since 1997, the bodies of at least 12 murdered women have been found in rural areas surrounding the city. Most of the women have been identified as prostitutes. On July 2003, after five bodies had been found in 10 months, John Lowman, a criminologist at Simon Fraser University, criticized the RCMP for not setting up a task force to address the problem. Lowman attributed the slow response of police to the murders of prostitutes as symptomatic of the stigmatization prostitutes face in Canada (Cormier, 2005).

In July 2003, the RCMP finally established a provincewide task force known as Project KARE. On June 17, 2005, Project KARE spokesmen announced that they were looking for a serial killer of Edmonton prostitutes (MacDonald, 2005). In May 2006, Thomas George Svekla (Cormier, 2007; Audette, 2007a) was arrested and charged with the murder of 36-year-old sex worker Theresa Merrie Innes, whose body was found in a hockey bag in Fort Saskatchewan. In January 2007, Svekla was charged with the murder of Rachel Quinney, a 19-year-old sex worker whose body was found in a field east of Edmonton in June 2004. *The Edmonton Journal* notes that, as of September 2007, Svekla is the only person to be charged by the Project Kare task force, which as of that date was "investigating the deaths and disappearances of more than 70 people living high-risk lifestyles" (Kleiss, p. B5). The same article notes that the bodies of 14 prostitutes have been found in Edmonton and the surrounding area since 1988.

How many murders of Canadian citizens warrant a concerned response on the part of our society? One? Five? Fifteen? Thirty? Of course, the answer is one murder. It is reasonable to expect that enlightened, progressive Canadian citizens will demand justice whenever any citizen is murdered. However, this demand is not often made when the murdered citizen is a member of a sexual minority, and especially if that citizen is a sex worker. Such a citizen is invisible, a member of the unwashed, a leper.

Sarah de Vries (cited in her sister's book, de Vries, 2003), a prostitute working the streets of Vancouver, makes this point in one of her journals shortly before she was murdered.

> It's strange. A woman who works the Hastings Street area [in downtown Vancouver] gets murdered, and nothing.
>
> Yet if she were some square John's little girl, shit would hit the goddamn fan. Front page news for weeks, people protesting in

> the streets. Everybody makes a stink. While the happy hooker just starts to decay, like she didn't matter, expendable, dishonourable. It's a shame that society is that unfeeling. She was some woman's baby girl, gone astray, lost from the right path.
>
> She was a person. (p. 159)

The Edmonton and Vancouver situations highlight a glaring double standard in the response of police to missing-women reports. For example, when women who are members of Vancouver's establishment are reported missing—perhaps the daughters of doctors, or teachers, or lawyers—and when the missing women are murder victims, the norm in Vancouver is that their bodies are discovered within two weeks (Mickleburgh, 2002). Despite numerous reports of missing prostitutes in 1997 and 1998, no bodies were discovered. Prostitutes, in life and in death, are invisible.

Racism and Sexism

Canadians' disdain for prostitutes is magnified when the individuals involved are Aboriginal. Janice Acoose (cited in Goulding, 2001), a professor at the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College in Saskatoon, studies the media's treatment of native women in high-risk lifestyles. Acoose laments the response of Saskatoon citizens to the murders of several young Aboriginal women:

> I have waited in agonized and frustrated silence for some kind of expression of concern (perhaps even outrage) from members of the community, women's groups, or political organizations. To date, few, if any, have come forward and spoken to the

> nature of this heinous crime or the need to protect Indigenous women who were so obviously the targets of this murderer….Instead of thinking about these young women as individuals who had dreams, aspirations, hopes and people who loved them, we were encouraged to view them through stereotypical images. Rather than representing them as human beings who were brutally murdered, the press referred to them as women who "frequented downtown bars" and who were part of the "downtown bar scene." (pp. 214–215)

Sociologist Patricia Hill Collins (1996) suggests that race and class are factors in the construction of sexual identities of minority women, and that men are implicated in this construction. Hill Collins examines biological theories and imagery to make the case that enslaved black women, and perhaps all women, both in the past and today, are treated as being less than human because they embody animal sexuality. Commenting on the position of black women in Western societies, she explains that

> certain "races" of people have been defined as being more bodylike, more animallike, and less godlike than others. Race and gender oppression may both revolve around the same axis of distain for the body; both portray the sexuality of subordinate groups as animalistic and therefore deviant. (p. 310)

Speaking about the experiences of black women in the United States, Hill Collins suggests that "at the heart of both racism and sexism are notions of biological determinism claiming that people of African descent and women possess immutable biological characteristics marking their inferiority to elite white men" (p. 309). Razack (1998) supports Hill Collins' thesis, and explains that the violence experienced by "racialized women" involved in sex work is often ignored by feminists and other prostitution commentators. Razack suggests that one response "is simply to render such violence invisible," and a second response is to minimize the violence "and declare that when it does happen, it simply reflects race and class divisions in the larger society" (p. 350).

Hill Collins' theory that racist violence is inflicted upon minority groups because they are felt to be less human, more animallike, resonates with the experiences of Canada's Aboriginal women. A 2004 Amnesty International report entitled *Stolen Sisters: A Human Rights Response to Discrimination and Violence Against Indigenous Women in Canada* offers the following excerpt from a Manitoba Justice Inquiry into the murder of Helen Betty Osborne, an Aboriginal woman:

> Her attackers seemed to be operating on the assumption that Aboriginal women were promiscuous and open to enticement through alcohol or violence. It is evident that the men who abducted Osborne believed that young Aboriginal women were objects with no human value beyond sexual gratification. (pp. 28–29)

Canadian Aboriginal people carry the heavy burden of multiple stigmatizations. Victims of unremitting prejudice, racism and segregation, they are all too often forced deeper and deeper into our urban ghettoes. A disproportionate number of street prostitutes are Aboriginal women. The reality of their lives, of their desperate struggles to survive, is far removed from the rarified sex debates that take place within academic circles.

Prostitutes cannot afford the luxury of waiting for some future utopia. They need help today.

Judicial Misadventures

> I…fell to my knees and wrapped my arms around myself to try and calm my terrified little soul. (Sarah de Vries describing a violent incident with a john. Cited in Cler-Cunningham & Christensen, 2001, p. 108)

Gayle Rubin (cited in Bell, 1994), a North American feminist who theorizes about the position of "minority sexual subjects," suggests that society's criminalization and stigmatization of sex work and sex workers serves to keep sex-oriented business "marginal, underdeveloped, and distorted….It…renders sex workers…vulnerable to exploitation and bad working conditions" (p. 96). Cler-Cunningham & Christensen (2001) explain that Canadian laws are contradictory and dangerous, and have "played a direct role in contributing to the rape, assault and murder of women in the street level sex trade" (p. 95).

Gardner (2003) notes that Canada has tried several policy initiatives that have failed to combat prostitution or to protect prostitutes. Canada's first national anti-prostitution laws were passed in 1867 and strengthened at the turn of the century. The First World War diverted the attention of the state away from prostitution. For several decades, prostitution was not a public issue: Canada's police forces ignored the fact that prostitution was "alive and well" in brothels and massage parlors across the country. In the 1970s, a few high-profile murders in massage parlors in Toronto and Vancouver prompted police to raid brothels and parlors. The police pressure forced prostitution into the open, and prostitutes and johns suddenly appeared on neighborhood streets across the country. As Gardner explains, "because streetwalking is far more dangerous than any form of off-street sex work, violence against prostitutes surged" (p. D6).

The Department of Justice (1998) report on prostitution acknowledges that "prostitution per se has never been a crime in Canada; rather, it has been, and continues to be, attacked indirectly" (Part 1). Canada's indirect attack upon prostitution results in a system of quasi-criminalization. As Lowman (2000) notes, the "Canadian *Criminal Code* effectively outlaws prostitution—technically, prostitution is legal, but it is almost impossible to prostitute on an on-going basis without breaking the law" (p. 21). Canada's system of quasi-criminalization creates offenders out of vulnerable individuals who should more accurately be considered victims. The legal system forces prostitution to become an illicit market driven by primitive and brutal forces. It encourages the "convergence of prostitution with…the drug trade" (p. 21), and it helps create antagonistic relationships between prostitutes and police forces.

Lowman (n.d.) explains that the quasi-criminalization of prostitution means that rather than protecting prostitutes, police must enforce laws against them. Paradoxically, police action taken against prostitution can sometimes cause unanticipated results. An example of this dilemma occurred in Toronto in 1977. After a shoeshine boy was sexually assaulted and murdered on the Yonge Street strip, the police cracked down on off-street sex venues such as massage parlors. The prostitutes who were forced from their off-street businesses turned to the streets, thus escalating the numbers of street prostitutes.

Police respond to community complaints about prostitution by using laws and harassment techniques to force prostitutes to move. Lowman (n.d.) explains that when prostitutes are forced to move from residential areas to poorly lit industrial areas, they become vulnerable to sexual predators. In addition, their outlaw status forces prostitutes to view police as the enemy. The result is that when they are victims of crime, prostitutes turn to pimps or to each other for help and comfort rather than seeking help or comfort from the police (Goulding, 2001; Brock, 1998).

Another important characteristic of Canada's current approach to prostitution is that the country's politicians and police services tacitly condone off-street prostitution. Lowman (n.d.) explains that a "two-tier sex trade has emerged, with a licensed off-street trade, and black-market street trade" (p. 13). De Vries (2003) is even more accusatory, noting that "we all…live on the avails of prostitution in the sense that our governments profit from it" (p. 103).

Lowman (n.d.) observes that the public perception is that street prostitution has been growing and spreading for much of the previous three decades. Opinions vary on the causes and timing of the purported increase. One view holds that the *Regina v. Hutt* court decision of 1978, which ruled that soliciting must involve "pressing" and "persistent" behavior, effectively prevented police from charging prostitutes, thereby ensuring the spread of street prostitution. Proponents of this view hold that, as a result, pressure began to mount in favor of tougher laws to control or eliminate prostitution as a nuisance on community streets (Brock, 1998).

In June 1983, the federal government, in response to public concern about street prostitution, established the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution, commonly known as the Fraser Committee. In May 1985, the committee reported that street prostitution was increasing due to the "contradictory and often self-defeating nature of the various *Criminal Code* sections relating to prostitution" (Department of Justice, 1998, Part 1). The Fraser Committee noted the schizophrenic nature of Canada's prostitution laws—namely, that although prostitution is legal, there are no legal venues for the practice of prostitution. The committee concluded that if prostitution is legal, then the "issue of 'where' and 'when' it can occur should be addressed" (Robertson, 1999). The committee recommended that laws be retained against coercive pimps and "tangible" street nuisances. Lowman (n.d.) explains that in an effort to solve the issue of where and when prostitution is allowed, the committee recommended that "two prostitutes should be allowed to work out of a single location (the…'cottage-industry' model of prostitution) and municipalities should be allowed to license small scale brothels."

Robertson (1999) notes that the advice of the Fraser Committee was ignored by the conservative government of Brian Mulroney. Instead, as noted earlier, the communicating law (s. 213 of the *Criminal Code*) was enacted in place of the soliciting law in December 1985. The Department of Justice (1998) report on prostitution suggests that s. 213 "made criminal the public activities most frequently engaged in for the purpose of offering or purchasing sexual services" (Part 1). Brock (1998) explains that "any single attempt by a prostitute to solicit a client in a public space, no matter how quiet and unobtrusive she or he might be, presented sufficient justification for the police to make an arrest" (p. 76).

Brock (p. 81) reports that the communicating law "put women in greater physical danger" than before. It forced prostitutes to work individually rather than in the relative safety of groups, and in an attempt to reduce their visibility to police, to make quicker decisions evaluating the danger factor posed by individual johns. Prostitutes were unable to employ their "buddy system," whereby they take the license numbers of their friends' johns, with the johns' knowledge, in an effort to protect themselves from physical and emotional harm. Valerie Scott, a member of the Canadian Organization for the Rights of Prostitutes (CORP), states that because of the communicating law, "whores are once again forced into invisibility and are vulnerable to all the exploitation and abuse that comes with oppression…One of the places we are going as a result of this bill is to the hospital" (cited in Brock, 1998, p. 81).

The effectiveness and legality of the communicating law (s. 213), which makes the buying and selling of sex in public illegal, and the bawdyhouse section of the *Criminal Code*, s. 210, which makes it illegal to buy or sell sex in off-street locations, have been and remain the subject of much debate. Robertson (1999) explains that, in May 1990, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled on whether s. 210 and s. 213 were inconsistent with the intent of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, particularly s. 2(b) of the *Charter*, which states that Canadians' fundamental freedoms include "freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication."

Cler-Cunningham and Christensen (2001) report that the Supreme Court agreed that the laws on communication are an infringement on freedom of expression. However, the Department of Justice (1998) report on prostitution notes that the court also ruled that "the elimination of street solicitation, and the social nuisance it creates, is a governmental objective of sufficient importance to justify a limitation on the freedom of expression guaranteed by section 2(b) of the *Charter*" (Part 1). In other words, under Canadian law, prostitutes are not equal to other Canadians.

Cler-Cunningham and Christensen (2001) lament the Supreme Court's unwillingness to force governments to give prostitutes the same rights as other

Canadians. They angrily explain that the "contradictory laws governing the sex trade have played a direct role in contributing to the rape, assault and murder of women in the street level sex trade" (p. 95). These views are echoed by the Fraser Committee, which cautions that special laws for prostitutes are dangerous:

> [Special laws seem] to result in prostitutes being categorized as different....less worthy of protection by the police and a general attitude that they are second-class citizens. The police and the public act towards prostitutes in ways that they would not with other women or men." (cited in Davis, 1994, p. 15)

Carol Leigh, a prostitute performance artist in the role of Scarlot Harlot, expresses similar views.

> They make really bad laws.
> I am against any law that curtails my freedom of sexpression,
> And my freedom to do whatever I want with my body.
> They make really, really bad laws,
> Sad laws, bad laws, they make me mad laws,
> Bad laws.
> All they do is add laws....
> You ask yourself, just who do they think they are?
> And while you are wondering, they make laws that are
> putting prostitutes in jail until they die.
> (cited in Bell, 1994, p. 179)

Our Violent Underbelly

Gayle Rubin decries a sexual value system which dichotomizes sex into the sacred and the profane. She explains that, for the sexual majority

> sexuality that is "good," "normal" and "natural" should really be heterosexual, marital, monogamous, reproductive, and non-commercial. It should be coupled, relational, within the same generation, and occur at home....Bad sex may be homosexual, unmarried, promiscuous, non-procreative, or commercial. (cited in Bell, 1994, p. 94)

It is the belief of many that members of sexual minorities are deviants who indulge in bad, abnormal, and unnatural sexual activities. The dichotomy between good and bad sexuality—the sacred and the profane—fuels bigotry and hatred in Canadian society (Johnson, 2004; West, 2005). The concept of profane or bad sex is the product of sexification, which I define on p. 51. Sexification arises out of a fascination with all things sexual combined with the need to regulate and condemn all deviations from monogamous heterosexual marriage.

Beagan (2001) explains that gays and lesbians have achieved political capital in the sense that, superficially, Canada acts out a politically correct stance toward homosexuality and homosexuals. However, on a deeper "micro" level, gays and lesbians feel that homophobia continues to be alive and well. Beagan quotes a gay medical student:

> Among the teaching faculty there's some homophobia, just underneath the surface. They never come out and say it, they're always politically correct, but you know it's there. Fellow

> students—I guess that's one of the reasons why I also feel more distant from a lot of people in the class....If someone talks about what they did on the weekend, if I did party I'm not going to tell them that I went to one of the gay bars. (p. 603)

Globe and Mail columnist Laura Drake (2007) reports on a University of British Columbia study, *Not Yet Equal: The Health of Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Youth in B.C.*, which cites data collected on 74,000 teens in 1992, 1998, and 2003. The study found that 45% of lesbian teens had experienced physical abuse in 2003, up from 27% in 1992. In 2003, 29% of lesbian teens reported sexual abuse, some of which may have resulted in pregnancy. Perhaps most disturbingly, the study found that "sexually active gay, lesbian and bisexual teenagers in British Columbia are up to three times more likely to be involved in a pregnancy than their heterosexual counterparts" (p. A6). Drake explains that "one possible reason young gays and lesbians may become involved in pregnancy is negative messages they receive about their sexuality from society" (p. A6). She quotes Dr. Elizabeth Saewyc, who explains that "young people may try to avoid that stigma by reaching for an identity they can be proud of. In Canada, we have very positive things to say about motherhood and fatherhood" (p. A6).

The disconnect between the stated rights and values proclaimed by organizations and institutions and actual practices is further illustrated by the experiences of sexual minorities who aspire to senior executive positions in today's corporations. *Globe and Mail* columnist Patrick White (2007) reports that "nine out of 10 Fortune 500 companies" promise "sexual-orientation protection" for their workers. "Yet not one of those companies is headed by an openly gay CEO, demonstrating that barriers still remain to the advancement of gay executives in today's corporate culture" (p. L4). White also notes testimony from gays and lesbians who report that "rosy company lines" often do not match life on the job. He cites a 2006 Leger Marketing poll in which almost 30% of 1,525 Canadian office workers reported having witnessed hostile behavior toward their gay or lesbian co-workers; 60% felt it could be career limiting for gay or lesbian employees to disclose their sexual orientation at work.

The lack of genuine acceptance of homosexuality is evident in the corporate sexification of gay and lesbian employees. Homosexual prostitutes are doubly sexified. Ince (2003) recounts the story of one lesbian prostitute: "It's funny, I've been a lesbian all my life, and the stigma surrounding homosexuality in the middle sixties when I came out was never even half as bad as it was around being a prostitute" (p. 226).

Brock (1998) offers an example of how sexual minorities are stigmatized by society as being the agents of their own persecution. Brock reports that, in Toronto, on an evening in May 1996, two transvestite prostitutes were murdered on a prostitute stroll on Homewood Avenue. That same evening, a young homeless woman was killed in Parkdale. Police determined that all three victims had been murdered by the same man with the same gun. Still, some residents on Homewood Avenue blamed the two transvestite prostitutes for causing their own deaths. As Brock notes, the victims were blamed, "not the men who preyed upon them, not the laws that stigmatized and marginalized them, and not homophobia toward gay men and lesbians and ridicule of transgendered people" (p. 140).

Forensic psychologist Dr. Karen Franklin (2000) suggests that society is most likely to offer tacit acceptance to hate crimes that target sexual minorities. Franklin identifies four categories of hate crime assailants who attack sexual minorities. "Ideology assailants" attribute their actions to negative beliefs and attitudes about homosexuality; they believe that other people in the community share these beliefs, and therefore interpret their actions as moral acts. "Thrill seekers" tend to be adolescents who commit assaults because they are bored and looking for fun and excitement. "Peer-dynamics assailants" are attempting to demonstrate their toughness and heterosexuality to their peers. "Self-defense assailants" rationalize their attacks upon homosexuals as acts of self-defense against sexual predators. The nature of these motivations suggests that hate crimes are not necessarily random and uncontrollable.

Cler-Cunningham and Christensen (2001), in a 1999–2000 survey of 183 female street prostitutes in Vancouver, determined that the women were experiencing high rates of violence. Their results are shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Respondents who reported being victims of more than one assault in the previous year.

% OF WOMEN	TYPE OF VIOLENCE
85.1%	harassed
53.2%	robbed
73.2%	physically threatened
60.3%	threatened with a weapon
47.3%	physically assaulted
47.6%	assaulted with a weapon
56.7%	forced to have sex against their will
38.8%	forced to have sex against their will with a weapon involved
30.9%	kidnapped or confined
36.9%	victim of someone trying to kill them

Allman (1999) reports that hustlers, the term for male sex workers, generally do not face the same levels of violence as do prostitutes—their female counterparts. Allman notes that, "between 1991 and 1995, 63 known sex workers were murdered. Of these, only three—or less than 5%—were male" (p. 21). Although the level of violence against hustlers may be lower than for prostitutes, it is important to remember that hustlers report a much greater frequency of violence, especially by "young male gay bashers" who assault and/or rob them (p. 21).

Dorais (2004) explains that gay youth are often the victims of family and school violence before entering the dangerous world of prostitution. "Many youths in our study had to drop out of school to avoid homophobic violence....For some, the streets became home, where they practiced prostitution for survival. There were few other places where these boys would have been welcomed" (p. 100).

Janoff (2005) reports that "there has been relatively little research on transgendered sex workers in North America" (p. 90). Gary Kinsman (cited in Janoff) explains that "transgendered sex workers are 'shunned and rejected' by the mainstream gay community—a situation that forces them to work in more dangerous neighbourhoods" (p. 90).

Angry Voices

Edmonton Journal columnist Peter O'Neil (2003) reports that then Canadian Alliance MP Larry Spencer, a former Baptist preacher, recommends restoring homosexuality to Canada's *Criminal Code*. Spencer is against same-sex marriage, and believes that a "conspiracy began in the 1960s when gay rights activists encouraged followers to enter the ministry of various churches and infiltrate North America's schools and teaching colleges" (p. A3). Spencer is concerned that the alleged conspiracy has been successful to the point that religious leaders and members of the Canadian Parliament are no longer "allowed to tell the truth and talk about facts." One of the alleged "facts" that Spencer offers to support his position is that "homosexuals, due to AIDS and other health problems, have a far lower life expectancy than straight men" (p. A3).

The Edmonton Journal's Paula Simons (2003) reports that Canadian MP David Kilgour opposes legalizing same-sex marriage because future governments would then feel compelled to "allow three people to get married" (p. A1). Kilgour is also concerned that same-sex marriage "could lead to mothers marrying sons and all kinds of things" (p. A1). He fears that offering homosexuals the same rights to marriage as those enjoyed by heterosexuals will result in polygamy.

The Edmonton Journal's Duncan Thorne (2003) reports that Brian Rushfeldt, executive director of the Calgary-based Canadian Family Action Coalition (CFAC), is concerned that Canada's new Conservative Party, which merged the Alliance Party and the Progressive Conservatives, will include "red Tories." Rushfeldt claims that "a true red Tory…is a liberal." He would prefer a party that offered "a real choice for Judeo-Christian morality in contrast to the extremist anti-family policies of the Liberals" (p. A2). Bain (2000) offers an example of Judeo-Christian morality when noting that some factions of the Catholic church teach that homosexuality is a "depravity and, although homosexuals have not chosen their 'condition,' they can 'resolutely' approach Christian perfection by choosing chastity" (p. 128).

Rushfeldt, Kilgour, Spencer, and others exemplify the social conservative perspective that legalizing same-sex marriage is anti-family, immoral, and a threat to Canadian society. *Vancouver Sun* columnist Douglas Todd (2005) reports that the U.S. religious right also feels threatened by Canada's position on same-sex marriage. "Big-name American Christian conservatives are warning the faithful that what is happening in Canada could soon infect the United States" (p. E6). For example, American evangelist Stephen Bennett has visited Canada to preach his message that "homosexual acts are a mortal sin that should be illegal" (p. E6). Wrapped in the sanctity of moral certitude, such social conservatives blithely ignore the great harm they are inflicting upon sexual minorities.

Social conservatives are joined by organized religion in condemning homosexual practices and ignoring the great harm this approach inflicts on individuals who endure such censure. For example, Hitchens (2007) reports that various religious leaders in the United States explained the events of 9/11 as God's retribution against sinners. "Within hours, the 'reverends' Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell…announced that the immolation of their fellow creatures was a divine judgment on a secular society that tolerated homosexuality and abortion" (p. 32).

Similar intolerance is evident in Canada. The Catholic church, for example, teaches that homosexuality is an abomination and that gay men are pedophiles who likely have HIV, AIDS, or hepatitis (Bain, 2000). It interprets homosexuality as an unnatural condition that must be changed. It teaches that homosexuality is a "depravity and, although homosexuals have not chosen their 'condition,' they can 'resolutely approach Christian perfection' by choosing chastity" (p. 128).

Presbyterian churches espouse equally harsh views about homosexuality—views that have sometimes led to suicides among their parishioners. Fisher (1999, citing Fisher 1992) recounts one mother's story:

> "[S]he used to belong to a Presbyterian church that preached the hard line on homosexuality. She blames the church, and her former unquestioning acceptance of its anti-gay doctrine, for the fact that her fifth child, Bobby, killed himself at the age of 20. Bobby was gay, and he believed his family and his church when they told him he could and must alter his sexual orientation through prayer and religious counselling. After four anguished years of an effort biologically predestined to failure, he threw himself from a pedestrian overpass into the path of a semi-trailer." (p. 138)

Christian churches are not the only denominations to hold intolerant views. Some Islamic churches preach equally harsh theologies. Irshad Manji (2003), a commentator on social issues such as homosexuality, religion, and feminism, speaks to her fellow Muslims with troubling observations and pointed questions concerning prevailing interpretations of the Koran. "I read about victims of rape being stoned for adultery, and I wonder how a critical mass of us can stay stone silent." Manji asks Muslims: "How can we be so sure that homosexuals deserve ostracism—or death—when the Koran states that everything God made is 'excellent'?" (p. 2).

I believe it is difficult to conceive of any horrific act upon women or sexual minorities that would not be condoned by at least one of the major religions. Harris (2004) reminds us of religions' fascination with and condemnation of female bodies with the example of Muslim anger over a beauty contest. "Rioting in Nigeria over the 2002 Miss World Pageant claimed over two hundred lives; innocent men and women were butchered with machetes or burned alive simply to keep that troubled place free of women in bikinis" (p. 46). Harris also notes that in 2002 "religious police in Mecca prevented paramedics and firefighters from rescuing scores of teenage girls trapped in a burning building…because the girls were not wearing the traditional head covering that Koranic law requires. Fourteen girls died in the fire" (p. 46).

Hitchens (2007) affirms Harris' view that all religions are especially concerned about sexual practices.

> All religions claim the right to legislate in matters of sex….The principal way in which believers inflict on themselves, on each other, and on nonbelievers, has always been their claim to monopoly in this sphere…To survey the history of sexual dread and proscription, as codified by religion, is to be met with a very disturbing connection between extreme prurience and extreme repression. Almost every sexual impulse had been made the occasion for prohibition, guilt, and shame. Manual sex, oral sex, anal sex, non-missionary position sex: to name it is to discover a fear-some ban upon it. Even in modern and hedonistic America, several states legally define "sodomy" as that which is not directed at face-to-face heterosexual procreation.
> (pp. 53–54)

Fisher (1999), a former executive director of Egale Canada, laments the emotional and psychological damage incurred by individuals who are daily subjected to negative and hurtful statements by Canadian political and religious leaders. Speaking as a member of a sexual minority, Fisher suggests that "because the systemic discrimination is so powerful, it does not occur to us that we may be healthy and society may be sick." He notes that survival for lesbian, gay, transgendered, and bisexual people may take the form of "internalized homophobia"—a strategy by which individuals hide their true sexual identities at great emotional and spiritual expense. "Remaining in the closet can mean we feel continually sick and ashamed of ourselves all the time as we pass as heterosexual."

Fisher (1999) notes that less than two decades ago, pamphlets—available for public consumption at the information desk of Toronto's largest downtown police station—promulgated the following hatemongering:

> Queers exist to seduce and pervert our children. Queers are sexually depraved vampires.
>
> Remember, the gay rights movement want [sic] the legal right to seduce our children!
>
> Queers do not produce: they seduce!
>
> If queers are allowed to have "equal rights" then they MUST be allowed to seduce your child. Do you want a queer calling at your home to see if your little boy "can come out to play"?
>
> Society may be going to the dogs, but let's not let our children go to the queers!!

Sadly, some 20 years later, Canadians whose sexual identities do not conform to mainstream heterosexuality continue to be subjected to and abused by similar myths and stereotypes. The hatred of various elements of society toward sexual minorities is virtually indistinguishable from society's hatred of prostitutes. Gary Ridgway, the serial killer introduced earlier in this chapter, refers to the prostitutes he strangled as "garbage" (Doughton, 2003). Lowman and Fraser (1995) report that, during the mid-1980s in Vancouver, spokespersons for various anti-prostitution community groups referred to prostitutes as "scumbags" and "sleazeballs" (p. 11).

Sarah de Vries (cited in Cler-Cunningham & Christensen, 2001), who was murdered shortly after writing the following poem, laments the callous nature of Canadian society in these prophetic words:

> Women body found beaten beyond recognition
> You sip your coffee
> Taking a drag of your smoke
> Turning the page
> Taking a bite of your toast
> Just another day
> Just another death
> Just one more thing you so forget
> You and your soft, sheltered life
> Just go on and on
> For nobody special from your world is gone
> Just another day
> Just another death
> Just another Hastings Street whore
> Sentenced to death. ...
> It's not just another day
> It's not just another death
> She was a broken down angel
> Just a child lost with no place
> A human being in disguise (pp. 104–105)

The angry voices I document in this chapter attest to society's unremitting need to sexify individuals and groups who choose to practice alternative sexualities. As I explain previously, such sexification identifies and condemns minorities as being sexual before acknowledging that they are human. Inevitably, sexification leads to illogical and highly distorted diatribes by religious leaders, neoconservative political leaders, and sick fringe members of society. Hitchens (2007) offers the following example of a neoconservative, Republican response to a sexually transmitted disease:

> The human papillomavirus (HPV) has long been known as a sexually transmitted infection that, at its worst, can cause cervical cancer in women. A vaccine is now available…not to cure this malady but to immunize women against it. But there are forces in the administration [President Bush's] who oppose the adoption of this measure on the grounds that it fails to discourage premarital sex. To accept the spread of cervical cancer in the name of god is no different, morally or intellectually, from sacrificing these women on a stone altar and thanking the deity for giving us the sexual impulse and then condemning it. (p. 48)

Clearly, the contortion of scientific knowledge to meet political and religious agendas has dangerous implications for citizens of all genders and sexualities. In this thesis I advocate a secular response to public health issues and to sexual practices. I believe much harm has been incurred by sexual minorities who generally live with the stigma inflicted upon them by governments that allow religious ideology to replace or to impact humane responses to social tragedies. Hitchens cites the following compelling example of political and religious ideology as a direct cause of needless human suffering:

> [The] Bush administration…in a supposedly secular republic in the twenty-first century, refuses to share its foreign aid budget with charities and clinics that offer advice on family planning. At least two major and established religions, with millions of adherents in Africa, believe that the cure is much worse than the disease. They also harbor the belief that the AIDS plague is in some sense a verdict from heaven upon sexual deviance—in particular upon homosexuality. A single stroke of Ockham's potent razor eviscerates this half-baked savagery: female homosexuals not only do not contract AIDS (except if they are unlucky with a transfusion or a needle), they are also much freer of *all* venereal infection than even heterosexuals. Yet clerical authorities persistently refuse to be honest about even the existence of the lesbian. In doing so, they further demonstrate that religion continues to pose an urgent threat to public health. (p. 49)

?

Canadian youth who are members of sexual minorities must listen to the ugly rhetoric of the moral-conservative elements of our society, including our religious leaders, and then attend mosque-run or church-run schools, all the while knowing that their religions and their schools brand them as depraved sinners. This is wrong. State money, in a system which purports to separate church and state, should not be available for church-run schools. Church–school partnerships should be eliminated in Canada. I believe the majority of Canadians are strong advocates of the concept that church and state should be separate in order to guarantee that religious zealots are not allowed to use the law to remove individual rights and democratic freedoms. But if this is so, I question why our education system, which is arguably the state's most important partner, is so heavily influenced and controlled by our churches. Public pedagogy ought to develop a life-affirming presence as a counterbalance against the sometimes misguided and insensitive policies of our church–school partnerships.

Implications for Public Pedagogy

A public pedagogy designed to help sexual minorities and prostitutes should interrogate and resist the phenomenon of fixating upon the sexual identities of people who deviate from heterosexual monogamy. Sexual identity is only one part of the complex human entity. Public pedagogy should teach that human sexuality encompasses a multiplicity of sexual identities and sexual practices. It is time to celebrate our differences while taking comfort and guidance from our similarities.

1. Sexification is a form of prejudice and bigotry that first sexualizes and than condemns its victims. Sexification lies at the heart of sexual victimization. Homophobia and heterosexism are two of numerous examples of sexification. I accept that members of some sexual minorities may take exception to or be offended by my insistence that prostitutes share with them many similar experiences. Nonetheless, I believe that public pedagogy can use the concept of sexification to help individuals and groups understand the commonalities that exist

between various sexual minorities and between sexual minorities and prostitutes.

2. Aboriginal people who work as sex workers are doubly stigmatized and victimized. They are first condemned as being somehow more animallike and, thus, more sexual. Secondly, they are condemned and vilified for being prostitutes. Thus, racism is a further example of the sexifying of minorities or of groups who do not possess significant social power. Public pedagogy should interrogate and resist the desire of majority groups to sexualize and victimize minority groups.
3. The numerous murders of prostitutes in British Columbia eventually punctured the indifference of the police, the media, and the public. This affirms that public pedagogy can develop campaigns to foster and channel the public emotion that arises from tragic events. A public pedagogy working on behalf of sexual minorities and prostitutes should wage media campaigns to highlight the tragedies that individuals and families face when lives are brutalized. Always, invisibility must be resisted.
4. The heterosexual majority wields great power over sexual minorities and prostitutes. Public pedagogy ought to identify and interrogate the reality that heterosexism is a powerful enemy of sexual minorities.

Strategies must be devised to turn heterosexual enemies into heterosexual friends. The first step is identifying what I refer to as heterosexual imperatives—those historically constructed ideas and beliefs that heterosexuals unthinkingly accept and impose, upon themselves and others, as sacred, unchanging truths.

5. Heterosexism, homophobia, and racism are hidden realities in police cultures, church cultures, and others sectors of society. Public pedagogy ought to implore those members of the police, the judiciary, the churches, and the media who secretly identify with one or more sexual minorities, or who have worked in the sex industry, to make their stories public. Public pedagogy ought to work to reshape minority discourses, with the help of individuals who are successfully employed in institutions that have a history of jeopardizing the well-being of sexual minorities. Public pedagogy ought to make the case that normal people, good people, are members of sexual minorities.
6. Public pedagogy ought to reveal and challenge the phenomenon that allows individuals who have been physically attacked as a result of their sexual identities to be revictimized by the charge that they are responsible for the crimes inflicted upon them. Public pedagogy ought

to become involved in the development of public school curriculum that teaches not only tolerance but respect and admiration for sexual minorities. One approach to this problem is to lobby for the removal of public funding for any schools whose official teaching promotes hatred, intolerance, and victimization of minority groups.

CHAPTER 4: PIERRE BOURDIEU – A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Bourdieu: An Introduction

In this chapter I explore how Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical conceptualizations about the structure and workings of society can be applied to a study of the position of prostitutes and other sexual minorities in Canadian society. I conclude the chapter with a list of implications for public pedagogy.

In commenting on the debased position of prostitutes in society, Bourdieu (2001) notes the strange irony inherent in laws that criminalize prostitution. He suggests such laws imply "that only the free gift of sex is legitimate and that the exchange of sex for money is sacrilege par excellence inasmuch as it is a trade in what is most sacred in the body" (p. 16). Bourdieu extrapolates:

> It is obviously because the vagina continues to be constituted as a fetish and treated as sacred, secret and taboo that trade in sex remains stigmatized both in the ordinary consciousness and in the letter of the law which denies women the choice of working as prostitutes. By involving money, some male eroticism associates the search for pleasure with the brutal exercise of power over bodies reduced to the state of objects and with the sacrilege of transgressing the law that the body (like blood) can only be given, in a purely gratuitous offering, presupposing the suspension of violence. (p. 16)

By ignoring the plight of prostitutes and other sexual minorities, Canadian society plays a pathological role in the lives of its own citizens. By failing to correct the inequities within its social body, it inflicts violence upon its own body. Bourdieu's theories about society help to explain Canadian society's seemingly callous, often muted response to the degradation and murder inflicted upon sexual minorities:

> Nothing is less innocent than noninterference. If it is true that it is not easy to eliminate or even modify most of the economic and social factors behind the worst suffering,…It is also true that any political programme that fails to take advantage of the possibilities for action (minimal though they may be) that science can help uncover, can be considered guilty of nonassistance to a person in danger. (Bourdieu cited in Reay, 2001, p. 344)

Bourdieu (2001), when speaking about the struggles of sexual minorities, particularly the struggles of gays and lesbians, notes the intimate and destructive link between sexuality, power, and politics. He asserts that it is possible for an analysis of homosexuality to "lead to a politics (or a utopia) of sexuality aimed at radically differentiating the sexual relation from a power relation" (p. 120). At the same time, Bourdieu suggests that the human will or capacity to effect a "radical subversion of the social structures and the cognitive structures" is immensely difficult. Sexual minorities face the grave reality that "fighting for a new sexual order" which makes no distinction "between the different sexual statuses" is a daunting, perilous, and perhaps impossible utopia. Nonetheless, Bourdieu does note that a small number of gays and lesbians "are relatively privileged, especially in terms of cultural capital, which constitutes a considerable asset in their symbolic struggles" (p. 120).

Subjectivism, Objectivism, Habitus, and Social Practice

Bourdieu (1990) asserts that "of all the oppositions that artificially divide social science, the most fundamental, and the most ruinous, is the one that is set up between subjectivism and objectivism" (p. 25). In response, he develops a social science situated within but designed to transcend subjectivism and objectivism—two broad theoretical perspectives that explore the relationship between agency (the capacity of individuals to independently make meaningful changes in their lives) and structure (the control of individual action by social structures). Individuals, according to Bourdieu, have agency: They have the power to create limited change in their lives in resistance to the massive power of social institutions. At the same time, Bourdieu also believes that social structures, particularly economic structures, play a significantly deterministic role in the lives of individuals and groups. Bourdieu's theory of practice explicates and conjoins the nuances, limitations, and useful insights of the objectivist and subjectivist theoretical perspectives. In developing his theory of practice, Bourdieu determines that the "principle and the point at stake in the struggle between objectivism and subjectivism is the idea that the science of man forms man, who is the object and also the subject of this science" (p. 46).

Jenkins (2002) observes that Bourdieu's work explores how " 'objective', supra-individual social reality (cultural and institutional social structure) and the internalised 'subjective' mental worlds of individuals as cultural beings and social actors are inextricably bound up together, each being a contributor to—

and, indeed an aspect of—the other" (pp. 19–20). Bourdieu explains this interrelationship in terms of a sociological/anthropological theory which he calls genetic structuralism. Singley (2003) notes that, in developing this theory, Bourdieu questions certain philosophical traditions—including phenomenology and existentialism, which ignore social structure while placing too much emphasis on individual agency, and structuralism, which ignores human agency while placing too much emphasis on social structure.

Bourdieu's genetic structuralism theorizes the interrelationships between psychological and structural accounts of human practice. As Wacquant (1993) explains, Bourdieu attempts to overcome the dualism of agency and structure by theorizing the interrelationship between the "purposive and meaningful activity through which agents construct their world on the one hand, and the impersonal compulsion and limits that the gravity of social structures impose upon them on the other" (p. 3). The aim of this work, according to Wacquant (2002), is to unravel "the multisided dialectic of social and mental structures in the operation of domination" (p. 552).

Bourdieu's genetic structuralist theory of practice (1990) explores individuals' practices—their power to act independently within the context of their habitus.

> The theory of practice as practice insists, contrary to positivist materialism, that the objects of knowledge are constructed, not passively recorded, and, contrary to intellectualist idealism, that the principle of this construction is the system of structured, structuring dispositions, the *habitus*, which is constituted in

> practice and is always oriented towards practical functions. (p. 52)

The concept of habitus is one example of Bourdieu's efforts to develop a theory of practice that reconciles the great divide between objectivist and subjectivist perspectives. Schirato and Webb (2003) ascribe to Bourdieu a significant position in the structure/agency debate. They suggest that Bourdieu's concepts of "habitus, field and capital…constitute what is arguably the most significant and successful attempt to make sense of the relationship between objective social structures (institutions, discourses, fields, ideologies) and everyday practice (what people do, and why they do it)" (p. 540).

Fowler (1996) explains that Bourdieu uses the term "practice" as the "equivalent of social action" (p. 10). Chopra (2003) suggests that Bourdieu uses "practice" to refer to "those embodied activities and competencies that are 'learned' and carried out by individuals in a social space" (p. 425). Embodied activities and competencies are conceptualized by Bourdieu as the habitus—the group of "dispositions" that, as Chopra explains, predispose individuals or groups to choose certain daily practices over others, or to respond to daily events in one manner rather than another. The dispositions that constitute the habitus originate in history and live in the present as embodied but forgotten history. As Bourdieu (1990) explains, the habitus, as a "product of history, produces individual and collective practices—more history—in accordance with the schemes generated by history. It ensures the active presence of past experiences" (p. 54).

Habitus comprises embodied cultural mores that are taught by family, friends, or teachers, or mastered by imitation. The dispositions constituting the habitus are physically and mentally engraved within the psyches of individuals or groups. As Noble and Watkins (2003) explain, habitus is the "embodiment of our social location—class, gender, ethnicity, and so on. It is manifest in our actions, our modes of appearance and through a bodily hexis or bodily bearing—posture, manners, ways of speaking—that is among the 'outward signs expressing social position' " (p. 522). Bourdieu (cited in Jenkins, 2002) defines bodily hexis as " 'political mythology realised, *em-bodied*, turned into a permanent disposition, a durable way of standing, speaking, walking, and thereby of *feeling* and *thinking*' " (p. 75). He sees bodily hexis as a powerful force that may decide an individual's social, cultural, and economic position in society.

An individual's habitus is both master and servant, both controlling and controlled. Chopra (2003) explains that individuals may "inhabit more than one habitus, and various habituses may overlap to some extent" (p. 425). Fowler (1996) distinguishes between the habitus created by childhood socialization and "secondary" habituses. She explains that a "secondary habitus results from professional or craft training, as that of the painter or the quarterback" (p. 10). The prostitution habitus, for example, is a secondary habitus: It is a habitus that may be forcibly inflicted by the harsh demands of economic necessity and physical survival, or it may be the habitus that is cultivated by those individuals who voluntarily choose sex work as a profession.

Girls and boys who become prostitutes, particularly street prostitutes, are immediately forced to adapt their childhood habitus to the demands of a new and threatening environment. In addition, they experience an abrupt and violent clash of sexual identities: the madonna versus the whore. Bell (1994) explains that "a whore–madonna division is imposed when those who are sexually assertive are considered whores and those who are sexually passive are considered madonnas" (p. 108). For males, a similar distinction exists between the promiscuous, subservient male—comparable to the whore—and the traditional, dominant male—comparable to the madonna. Desperate young people who do not possess sufficient social, cultural, or economic capital to be protected by families or social agencies, or to search for work in traditional positions, or even to seek work as prostitutes in massage parlors or in the phone sex or pornography industries, may have no option—at least none that is apparent to them—but to become street prostitutes. Once they become prostitutes, they must immediately assume the identity of whores—an identity imposed by society, peers, pimps, and customers—if they hope to survive. They must develop a survival habitus—a predisposition to play the role of body rather than of human—dictated by the immediate and pressing concern to obtain money for food, shelter, and possibly drugs. They must master the bodily hexis of a prostitute—a sassy, bold, confident, flirtatious sexuality designed to win customers and deter peer assaults.

Capital

Bourdieu uses the concept of capital to explain the dynamics of social conflict. DiMaggio (1979) suggests that Bourdieu conceptualizes social life as a "constant struggle for position, as actors seek (consciously and unconsciously) to weave around the formidable constraints that social structure sets against them" (p. 1463). The competition among actors for various forms of capital lies at the heart of social conflict (Wacquant, 1999; DiMaggio, 1979).

As DiMaggio (1979) explains, for Bourdieu, capital is defined implicitly as "attributes, possessions, or qualities of a position or a position exchangeable for goods, services, or esteem" (p. 1463). For example, a young man who possesses poor economic capital—perhaps having been born into a working-class environment—but who has mastered the formal and prestigious language of the society's elite, has the opportunity to use his valuable linguistic capital to obtain more lucrative employment, thus converting linguistic capital into economic capital (Swartz, 1997). In turn, he has the opportunity to convert his economic capital into symbolic capital, by, for example, offering gifts to the poor. When the young man gives gifts to the poor, his apparent generosity—whether real or false—is interpreted by the masses as the charitable acts of a just man.

Bourdieu (1990) explains that the "exhibition of symbolic capital (which is always very expensive in material terms) is one of the mechanisms which (no doubt universally) make capital go to capital" (p. 120). He observes that powerful forces in society obtain and maintain economic capital to the degree that they produce and reproduce symbolic capital. He suggests that the

> transformation of any given kind of capital into symbolic capital, a legitimate possession grounded in the nature of its possessor,...always presupposes a form of labour,...a redistribution...in the form of the recognition granted by the person who receives to the person who, being better placed...is in a position to give. (p. 129)

The young man in my example may choose to convert his symbolic capital into political power by converting his popularity into electoral success and political office. The possession of capital affords him a degree of power—the power to achieve certain ends that are beyond the grasp of others. On the other hand, an individual whose bodily hexis—the physical manifestation of one's habitus—is characterized by the physical comportment of a working man living in a blue-collar neighborhood will have difficulty being accepted in what some believe are more refined environments. He will not easily convert his social capital into improved economic capital. In this sense, his social capital is better defined as negative social capital.

The abundance of capital—linguistic, cultural, intellectual, or economic—is a form of power. Power can be defined as the ability to convert one form of capital into another form of capital. Bourdieu and Darbel (1990) emphasize that individual merit—for example, inherited intelligence—is not a factor in such exchanges. Rather, it is the distribution of cultural capital that determines whether individuals or groups can obtain sufficient intellectual capital to achieve desired positions in society. Bourdieu and Darbel perceive the accumulation of appropriate cultural capital as a form of power that helps individuals achieve academic success regardless of their intelligence or academic aptitude. This is because the cultural mores of the elite are embodied in its members, having been taught by family, friends, or teachers, or mastered by imitation. As a result, those who personify or embody elite culture are accorded academic success as a natural right.

Swartz (1997) suggests that, for Bourdieu, the "unequal distribution of objectified and institutionalized cultural capital across social classes is…one of the key dimensions of social inequality in modern societies" (p. 77). For example, Bourdieu and Darbel (1990) note that art education is ignored in schools in blue-collar neighborhoods, with the result that children in such neighborhoods are denied the opportunity to acquire the cultural capital embodied in art appreciation. Bourdieu and Darbel wonder how children can learn to appreciate fine art if their parents are unable and schools are unwilling to undertake the challenge of art instruction. Yet, if they do not love art, working-class children will lack the cultural capital they need to gain admission into prestigious schools, thus perpetuating social inequalities.

Singley (2003) explains that Bourdieu uses a three-dimensional map to help explain his conceptualization of social space. She quotes Bourdieu as explaining that the dimensions of his map "are defined by volume of capital, composition of capital, and change in these two properties over time" (p. 499). Singley explains that the "effects of these structures may be symmetrical—as in the case of professionals, who combine high income and high cultural capital—or they may be asymmetrical—as in the case of intellectuals, who possess high cultural capital and relatively low economic capital" (p. 499).

Within the field of prostitution, street prostitutes inhabit a symmetrical position in that they possess low cultural capital and low economic capital. By contrast, prostitutes who sell their services to the rich and famous enjoy high economic capital and high cultural capital within their field. Nonetheless, their cultural capital is low across most social spaces because most Canadians believe prostitutes are immoral and self-destructive.

Bourdieu (2001) advises that certain members of society, such as women, possess negative symbolic capital: "[W]hatever their position in the social space, women have in common the fact that they are separated from men by a negative symbolic coefficient which, like skin color for blacks, or any other sign of membership of a stigmatized group, negatively affects everything that they are and do" (p. 93). Prostitutes and sexual minorities also possess negative symbolic capital—to differing degrees. I suggest that within the field of power, street prostitutes possess more negative symbolic capital than most other groups in society. Not only is their capital impossible to convert into economic, social, or cultural capital in other fields, but their negative capital actually cancels out the limited capital they do possess. For example, a 15-year-old girl possesses a wealth of social capital by virtue of her Canadian citizenship. She has the right to a free education, to protection from physical, emotional, and sexual abuse by adults, to food and shelter, to freedom of speech, to protection by our courts and our police, and to respect within society (Wacquant, 1998). However, the moment this same girl becomes a prostitute, her negative symbolic capital converts into negative social capital. She generally loses what others are guaranteed.

The only significant capital street prostitutes possess is their bodies. In the field of prostitution, prostitutes possess symbolic capital if their physical characteristics conform to current standards of beauty, and if they are young or have the appearance of youth. Young, attractive prostitutes are perceived by their customers as being more valuable than their older or less pretty peers. They can convert their superior symbolic capital into greater amounts of economic capital. However, their ability to convert their economic capital into cultural capital in fields outside of prostitution is severely limited.

Field

> A field is a structured social space, a field of forces, a force field. It contains people who dominate and others who are dominated. Constant, permanent relationships of inequality operate inside this space, which at the same time becomes a space in which various actors struggle for the transformation or preservation of the field. All the individuals in this universe bring to the competition all the (relative) power at their disposal. It is this power that defines their position in the field and, as a result, their strategies. (Bourdieu, 1998, pp. 40–41)

Chopra (2003) notes that Bourdieu "employs the notion of the field to explain the functioning and composition of social space across a society" (p. 427). While habituses exist in "particular and homogeneous environments shared by groups of people" (p. 427), fields exist across society. Religions, educational and legal institutions, and occupations—including prostitution—are examples of fields. Many varying habituses may exist in one field. For example, in the prostitution field, the strutting, flirtatious, tough-girl habituses of street prostitutes are in sharp contrast to the nuanced and sophisticated habituses characteristic of high-society prostitutes.

Jenkins (2002) explains that, for Bourdieu, the "existence of a field presupposes and, in its functioning, creates a belief on the part of participants in the legitimacy and value of the capital which is at stake in the field" (p. 85). He notes that fields have "imprecise and shifting…boundaries" (p. 85) and are demarcated by the nature of the capital that individuals and groups struggle to obtain. Individuals or groups compete for the economic, social, cultural, or symbolic capital that is inherently or historically valuable within individual fields.

Bourdieu uses two constructs—doxa, associated with the habitus, and nomos, associated with the field—to explain how he conceptualizes the boundaries of fields and habituses within and across social space. The nomos performs the same function at the level of the field as the doxa does at the level of the habitus: Both determine the boundary between the thinkable and the unthinkable (Bourdieu, 2001).

Chopra (2003) helps to define doxa by explaining that "there is a range of practices and dispositions for any particular habitus, which corresponds to what is thinkable within that habitus" (p. 426). The point at which and beyond which the thinkable becomes unthinkable is determined by the doxa. Doxa imposes limits on the thinkable. Chopra explains:

> [F]or those who inhabit any particular habitus, what counts as liberal, radical, conservative or orthodox is all within the realm of the thinkable, that is within the ambit of what does not challenge the doxa. The doxa may be viewed as akin to a substratum of presuppositions, and the acquired practices and dispositions within a habitus as reflections, albeit unselfconscious, unarticulated or untheorized, or taken-for-granted deductions about reality itself. (p. 426)

For example, the doxa of a working-class habitus may include the presupposition that white-collar positions naturally belong to the white-collar class. Such a doxa would limit or eliminate working-class dreams for upward social mobility.

The doxa of a prostitute's habitus dictates that churches, schools, families, and community groups are correct when they insist that prostitutes are immoral and undeserving of God's blessing or of community respect (Guidroz, 2001). Such a doxa creates a compliant habitus, which occurs when the recognition and acceptance of the apparent superiority and value of the oppressor's symbolic capital becomes internalized in the body of the oppressed (Bourdieu, 1990). Another example of complaint habitus is the gay youth habitus possessed by those who endure the insults and condemnation of peers, family members, and communities. As a result of the doxa of this habitus, gay youth may well believe that they are indeed immoral and unworthy of respect or love. When a compliant habitus exists, habitus and doxa enable symbolic violence.

As doxa does within the habitus, the nomos determines the point where the unthinkable begins within the field. Chopra (2003) explains that, for Bourdieu, the nomos is the "irreducible, foundational, 'fundamental law' " (p. 427) that structures a field. The nomos determines the nature of the capital that individuals struggle to obtain within fields. The nomos is created by history; it is arbitrary, and it reflects the interests of the field's elite.

Fields are positioned across society. States have the ability to change fields or relationships between fields, in effect changing the nomos of various fields (Grenfell, 2004). For example, if a state embraces neoliberalism as an overarching economic paradigm, it in effect declares that neoliberalism is the nomos for all fields within the society. If a state does not embrace an overall ideology, but rather, accepts the legitimacy of a number of ideologies or political paradigms, the nomos becomes more field specific.

Fields are governed by specific laws of functioning. Topper (2001) explains that the "objective positions that agents or institutions occupy within a field (e.g., dominant, dominated, etc.) are determined by their possession of the form of 'capital' valorized in that particular field" (p. 39). Because "fields are to greater or lesser degrees autonomous from one another" (p. 40), the cultural, social, economic, or symbolic capital possessed by members of various sexual minorities is not easily transferred to other societal fields. For example, a prostitute's physical beauty may increase her earnings or make it possible for her to work in a prestigious location like a massage parlor, rather than the street. However, while this body capital may serve her well in the prostitution field, it may actually be a deterrent in those fields that conform to the strictures of a patriarchal nomos.

As Jenkins (2002) explains, the field is "the crucial mediating context wherein external factors—changing circumstances—are brought to bear upon individual practice and institutions" (p. 86). The prostitution field functions in dynamic relationships with judicial fields, social services fields, religious fields, political fields, and a host of others. The prostitution field enjoys little autonomy when interacting with other fields. Some fields—including the police, the courts, and community groups (civil society)—actively oppress or persecute the prostitution field. Canada's communication law is an excellent example of the legislative/judicial field attempting to eliminate prostitution by outlawing any form of communication between prostitutes and johns. The law forces prostitutes and their customers to move to dangerous and potentially deadly environments such as back streets and isolated industrial areas. Prostitutes do not possess the cultural capital necessary to pressure Canada's government to decriminalize prostitution, and thus protect the health and lives of sex workers.

While fields such as prostitution may lack sufficient power to transform society, this is not the case for autonomous fields such as education and religion. These fields are powerful because they reproduce themselves in historically structured ways. They select and train their own leaders. They determine what knowledge will be transmitted and which skills will be fostered. It is these characteristics that give them power and underpin their role as agents of symbolic violence against street prostitutes, other sexual minorities, and the poor.

Symbolic Violence, Cultural Arbitraries, and Misrecognition

> Symbolic violence, gentle, invisible violence, unrecognized as such, chosen as much as undergone, that of trust, obligation, personal loyalty, hospitality, gifts, debts, piety, in a word, of all the virtues honoured by the ethic of honour, presents itself as the most economical mode of domination because it best corresponds to the economy of the system. (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 127)

Bourdieu dissects the nature of individual or group power by developing an elaborate theory of capital as power—a subtle, seductive power that he calls symbolic violence. Bourdieu (1998b) defines symbolic violence as "violence wielded with tacit complicity between its victims and its agents, insofar as both remain unconscious of submitting to or wielding it" (p. 17). Symbolic violence employs invisibility as an important weapon. Bourdieu (1990) explains that symbolic violence is the "gentle, disguised form which violence takes when overt violence is impossible" (p. 133). He explains that, in contemporary society, because coercive, physical forms of domination are no longer acceptable, such hidden, subtle violence becomes necessary. "The more…[direct domination] is disapproved of, the more likely it is that gentle, disguised forms of domination will be seen as the only possible way of exercising domination and exploitation" (p. 128).

Bourdieu (1990) accuses the field of education of being a gullible and arguably the most powerful perpetrator of symbolic violence. He identifies the education system as the preeminent social institution responsible for conserving existing power structures and social hierarchies.

> [The] educational system helps to provide the dominant class with a "theodicy of its own privilege" not so much through the ideologies it produces or inculcates, but rather through the practical justification of the established order that it supplies by masking—under the overt connection that it guarantees, between qualifications and jobs—the relationship, which it surreptitiously records, under cover of formal equality, between

> the qualifications obtained and inherited cultural capital.
> (p. 133)

Bourdieu (1990) explains that "charismatic (or meritocratic) ideology, a particular form of the giving of 'gifts',...explains differential access to qualifications by reference to the inequality of innate 'gifts', thereby reinforcing the effect of the mechanisms that mask the relationship between qualifications obtained and inherited cultural capital" (p. 133). As Jenkins (2002) puts it, "privilege becomes translated into 'merit' " (p. 111). Bourdieu (cited in Jenkins) uses the expression "under cover of formal equality" (p. 111) to refer to the gift, or the illusion of a gift, that is bestowed by a meritocratic educational system which professes to give anyone with academic talents, regardless of social standing, equal opportunity to obtain social and economic capital. By focusing on individual merit, which is actually a red herring, the education system perpetuates hegemonic structures. It does this by suggesting to both the oppressors and the oppressed that various groups within society do not possess the intellectual skills required to move up the social, cultural, and economic ladders. In this way, the inheritance of social, cultural, and economic capital is disguised as a natural reward for those who possess the appropriate intellectual abilities. If girls and boys drop out of school and become involved in sex work, our education leaders may conclude that their fate is determined by their lack of ability to succeed in school. Thus, schools and society feel no compulsion to accept responsibility for the plight of prostitutes.

Swartz (1997) interprets symbolic violence as the "capacity to impose the means for comprehending and adapting to the social world by representing economic and political power in disguised, taken-for-granted forms" (p. 89). Bourdieu (1990) uses the term disinterest to refer to symbolic violence that is achieved when self-interest is misrecognized by the oppressed. He offers the example of interest in fine art, an interest often flamboyantly pursued by the wealthy classes. Love of art serves as a "disinterested activity" (p. 134) that hides the wealthy classes' real interest, which is a profound interest in and pursuit of economic capital. The interest in art—the conversion of economic capital into cultural capital—shifts the societal gaze from the profane (the pursuit of economic capital) to the sacred (the pursuit of beauty). The true motivation of the wealthy class is misrecognized.

Swartz (1997) defines misrecognition as "denial of the economic and political interests in a set of practices" (p. 89). Bourdieu defines misrecognition as " 'the process whereby power relations are perceived not for what they objectively are but in a form which renders them legitimate in the eyes of the beholder' " (cited in Jenkins, 2002, p. 104). For example, members of a church may misrecognize the economic and political agendas of their church's membership campaigns and fundraising exercises as being the altruistic desire to provide the gift of eternal salvation: The interested activity of securing financial security and power is misrecognized by church members as disinterest. In a similar fashion, attacks from the pulpit against the immorality of prostitutes is misrecognized as the revelation of God's word: The church's interested agenda of solidifying power over parishioners is ignored. Swartz (1997) explains that, for Bourdieu, "not only is all action interested but…much action can be carried out successfully only if its interested character goes misrecognized" (p. 90).

Bourdieu & Darbel (1990) explore the myth of innate taste as an interesting case study on how education functions as an instrument of symbolic violence by subtly instilling into the habituses of underprivileged classes the misrecognition of elite cultural talents as being natural and appropriate only for the elite. They explain that "in order for culture to fulfill its function of legitimating inherited privileges, it is necessary and sufficient that the link between culture and education, at once obvious and hidden, should be forgotten or denied" (p. 111). They suggest that the privileged classes ignore, to the degree that they think about it at all, the role that education plays in constructing and perpetuating artistic dispositions. "The privileged classes…replace the difference between two cultures, products of history reproduced by education, with the basic difference between two natures, one nature naturally cultivated, and another nature naturally natural" (p. 111). In other words, as Fowler (1994) explains, the privileged classes believe in the "actual existence of meritocracy and of love of art as an innate gift"; their belief is derived from a "confusion of natural and social" (p. 139).

Bourdieu rejects any notion of universal aesthetics. He does not accept that underprivileged classes are innately incapable of higher forms of aesthetic appreciation. Rather, as Fowler (1994) explains, Bourdieu emphasizes that "clashes of aesthetic views" are "generated virtually systematically by differences in group experience and habitus" (p. 133). Bourdieu and Darbel (1990) posit that privileged classes have access to an education—in the form of family socialization and elite schools—that creates an interest and appreciation for art. They explain that if the privileged classes are to maintain the belief in their innate superiority over other classes, they must forget the cultural arbitrary. That is, they must forget the arbitrary nature of art appreciation.

Jenkins (2002) explains that, for Bourdieu, the idea behind the cultural arbitrary is the rationale that "all cultures are equally arbitrary…and…behind all culture lies the arbitrary sanction of 'pure de facto power' " (p. 105). In the previous example, because the arbitrary nature of art appreciation is forgotten or denied, both the elite and the underprivileged classes believe that the elite are naturally endowed with superior artistic tastes. Bourdieu and Darbel (1990) explain that for the cultural elite to continue believing in their natural superiority

> it is necessary and sufficient for them to succeed in hiding from themselves and from others the social conditions which make possible not only culture as a second nature, in which society locates human excellence, and which is experienced as a privilege of birth, but also the legitimated hegemony…of a particular definition of culture. (p. 112)

By misrecognizing the aesthetic tastes of the privileged as being innate, the underprivileged misrecognize the dogma of the oppressors—a cultural arbitrary—as being the truth. In doing so, the underprivileged become willing participants in the symbolic violence being inflicted upon them, and the illusion of the superiority of the privileged is safely maintained (Hall, 2002). The reality, as Bourdieu and Darbel explain, is that disparate aesthetic sensibilities are the products of disparate systems of education.

The case study of art appreciation illustrates the subtle and corrosive power of symbolic violence, a violence in which all participants are willing, if unwitting, actors (Richard, 2003; Le Hir, 2000). As Schubert (2002) explains, symbolic violence is about the "power to define the correct ways…of being and knowing. It is about the power to delegitimize particular ways of being and knowing, not because of some inherent inferiority but only because it can be done to privilege some other way of being or knowing" (p. 1094).

The misrecognition of cultural arbitraries as God-given truth—for example, the widespread belief that prostitution is immoral—is a form of symbolic violence. Brock (1998) explains that "widely held perceptions of the prostitute as sinner, sexual deviant, or sexual slave suggest that prostitution is not addressed as a work relation, but as a social problem" (p. 12). In addition, the construction of the prostitute as a whore effectively eliminates prostitutes from any discussion about the position of prostitutes within Canadian society. Rather, as Brock explains, by treating prostitutes as a social problem that requires expert advice from the courts, the police, and others, "we unwittingly participate in the silencing, marginalization, and control of prostitutes" (p. 12). The result is that prostitutes possess no symbolic capital across social space.

Because prostitutes possess very little cultural capital, they are subject to overt violence as well as symbolic violence. There is a direct correlation between the degree to which society accepts overt violence against sexual minorities and the influence of symbolic violence in easing society's moral revulsion against violence. For example, street prostitutes must work in dangerous environments and endure overt violence because of the successful work of symbolic violence in convincing society that prostitutes are responsible for their own victimization. Symbolic violence, the psychological acceptance of one's degraded position in society, happily accepts the help of overt violence. One factor helping to explain this phenomenon is the belief by many in society that prostitutes are immoral sexual deviants who deliberately choose dangerous lifestyles.

Bourdieu (1990) suggests that "the 'choice' between overt violence and gentle [symbolic] violence depends on the state of the power relations between…two parties and the integration and ethical integrity of the group that arbitrates" (p. 127). Ultimately, the Canadian people serve as arbiters. However, the failure of society's forces of power to respond to overt violence inflicted upon sexual minorities is symptomatic of the pervasive influence of symbolic violence: The gentle control of sexual minorities is generally successful in mitigating the moral repulsion of society in response to brutal acts against sexual minorities.

The success of symbolic and overt campaigns against prostitutes naturally results in prostitutes losing all hope for new, more respectable lifestyles. Symbolic and overt violence forces prostitutes to retreat further and further from those who might help them. The possibilities for individual agency—successful reentry into straight society—decline in direct proportion to the prostitute's successful inculcation of a new, survival habitus. As Bourdieu (1990) explains,

> a given agent's practical relation to the future, which governs his present practice, is defined in the relationship between, on the one hand, his *habitus* with its temporal structures and dispositions towards the future, constituted in the course of a particular relationship to a particular universe of probabilities, and on the other hand a certain state of the chances objectively offered to him by the social world. (p. 64)

Constrained by the nomos of their field, by the limitations of their individual habituses, and by their leper status in society, street prostitutes' disintegration into isolation, drug addiction, crime, disease, emotional despair, and spiritual desecration is virtually assured. Fortunately, the fate of off-street prostitutes is considerably better.

Implications for Public Pedagogy

Bourdieu's work presents a series of opportunities and thinking avenues for theorists who wish to identify, interrogate, analyze, and redirect thinking and social agency projects related to sexual minorities.

1. Bourdieu's field construct is defined as a social space wherein individuals and groups compete for capital that everyone in the field agrees is valuable. Within the field, certain groups possess differing amounts of social, cultural, or symbolic capital. The group or groups possessing the most significant amounts of important capital enjoy the most success and power within the field. A public pedagogy developed to assist social agency projects for sexual minorities can use Bourdieu's work as the starting point for a series of key questions. For example, do sexual minorities inhabit a specific field? The short answer is that Bourdieu never developed a gender–sexuality field. However, as I explain in Chapter 7, it is my contention that such a field is presently emerging. Knowledge of the characteristics of the emerging gender–sexuality field can be very helpful for developing public pedagogy strategies.
2. By considering a series of questions that naturally emerge from Bourdieu's work, a new public pedagogy can evolve. For example, if Bourdieu's fields have a history that its members can identify, is there historical evidence that a gender–sexuality field is emerging?

3. Who are the members of the gender–sexuality field? Who are the winners and losers in the gender–sexuality field? Can various sexual minorities be categorized as subfields within the gender–sexuality field? For example, can prostitutes meet the criteria as a subfield within the gender–sexuality field? Indeed, are prostitutes members of a prostitution subfield within the gender–sexuality field?
4. Subfields possess the same characteristics as do fields. Their members compete within their subfields and with other subfields. Therefore, who are the winners and the losers in the prostitution subfield? What types of capital do prostitutes compete for? What are the relative positions of the subfields within the gender–sexuality field?
5. If fields are characterized as social spaces in which fierce competition is waged for prized capital, how can the emerging gender–sexuality field serve as a breeding ground for social activism? Are the two concepts mutually exclusive?
6. If fields are characterized not only by competition within fields, but by competition between fields, public pedagogy must determine who the gender–sexuality field is competing with and how the competition can work in favor of sexual minorities.
7. Bourdieu explains that members of fields misrecognize the gifts of powerful fields as benevolent and caring overtures, not as attempts to keep people happily and politically naive and comfortable with their

debased social positions. Public pedagogy needs to ask itself how it can identify the true effects of gifts and thereby raise the consciousness of the debased.

8. Bourdieu explains that some fields are more autonomous than other fields. They have sufficient power to make choices for themselves and to determine their own fate. Public pedagogy should determine who has the most autonomy within the gender–sexuality field. I suggest, based on the analysis of same-sex marriage advocacy I present in Chapter 6, that gay and lesbian subfields have the most autonomy within the gender–sexuality field. Public pedagogy should assess why gays and lesbians have more autonomy and whether such autonomy can eventually be realized by other subfields (including the prostitution subfield) in the gender–sexuality field. What lessons can public pedagogy use, if it models its social agency on the same-sex marriage campaign, to enhance the positions of other gender–sexuality subfields?
9. Bourdieu explains that, at the level of the individual, one's habitus (embedded historical dispositions) is both controlling of the individual and controlled by the individual. However, very special circumstances must arise before the habitus can be resisted by the individual. Public pedagogy should first identify the limitations of individual or group habituses and then address how best to resist their power.

CHAPTER 5: FEMINISTS, PROSTITUTES, AND PEDAGOGUES – A CACOPHONY OF VOICES

> Sex workers are entitled to the same human rights standards that are afforded to other members of Canadian society. However, as a result of the current criminal laws relating to adult prostitution, sex workers are forced to live and work in conditions where they experience systemic discrimination, exploitation and violence, and where their constitutional rights are infringed. [Sex workers] are entitled to these rights and protections, but face practical barriers as a result of pervasive stigmatization and prejudice. (Childs et al., 2006, p. 8)

The position of prostitution in Canadian society is a divisive, highly emotional issue that serves as a lightning rod for the strong, impassioned, and often diametrically opposed positions taken by feminists, prostitution rights advocates, concerned citizens, and a host of others. The various discourses are often angry, polemic, and rigid, with seemingly few areas for compromise or discussion. The voices of prostitutes themselves are rarely heard, and if they are, they are often dismissed as misguided. Both defenders and denigrators of prostitutes' rights trumpet their competing agendas on the battlegrounds of politics, morality, and women's rights, while prostitution remains in a murky legal limbo and prostitutes are denied the human rights that are their due.

In this chapter, I present a sampling of voices that define the position of prostitutes in Canada. I present a few of the feminist theorists who represent the continuum of feminist positions on prostitution, and analyze how various feminist discourses affect prostitutes' daily lives. I offer the first-person voices of a number of prostitutes on issues such as sexuality, agency, empowerment, stereotypes, and decriminalization. I justify the legitimacy of my own voice as a postmodern critical theorist and heterosexual, male defender of prostitutes' rights. I make the case that adult prostitution must be decriminalized, and finally, I identify a number of lessons learned from feminist discourses and the implications for public pedagogy

Feminism: Laying the Groundwork

> Feminism is not a monolithic movement; rather, it is complex, varied, and operates on a number of different fronts and in a variety of ways to meet a whole range of objectives (and objections); like organic things, it passes through different stages of growth, structuring and restructuring itself to address the challenges of successive generations in an ever-growing number of contexts. (Yob, 2000, p. 383)

Over the past decades, the feminist movement has "identified systemic and individual injustices perpetrated against women" (Yob, p. 395), and has succeeded in instigating social change that addressed these injustices. Feminist activism has helped to secure women's right to vote, to equal educational opportunities, to gender equality in the workplace, to equal pay for equal work, and other human rights. Given this track record, feminist activism has the potential to serve as a powerful force in securing the rights of prostitutes. At the same time, Kesler (2002) asserts that some feminist voices have deliberately aligned themselves with the forces of the patriarchal hegemony they purport to reject, and to an entrenched establishment that perpetuates symbolic and overt violence against prostitutes. For example, Kesler explains that Carol Pateman

> ignores the experiences of women who enjoy their work as prostitutes, and trivializes the role of the prostitute....[Pateman's] focus, which is solely on the body, with no attention to the skills and services a prostitute brings to the encounter, strips prostitute women of all agency. Prostitutes are not simply 'bodies', and I find it highly ironic that a feminist analysis of prostitution should objectify women in this way. (p. 229)

Feminist discourses on prostitution fall on a continuum between condemnation—or simply silence—to a few voices offering support for prostitutes and prostitution. The greatest divide exists between radical feminists, who hold that all prostitution is the systematic, criminal exploitation of women by an immoral, all-powerful patriarchal society, and sex-positive feminists (sometimes called pro-sex, sex-radical, or liberal feminists), who suggest that many prostitutes exercise agency and feel empowered by their chosen careers. In this chapter, I offer a sampling of radical feminist perspectives, pro-sex feminist perspectives, and more moderate, centre-of-the road positions. I pay considerable attention to radical feminists. I do this for several reasons. In Chapter 7, using the work of Bourdieu and others, I discuss the role of public pedagogy as an institution of social transformation, and I critique the role of public intellectuals as agents of social change. Two radical feminists in particular—Andrea Dworkin and Catherine MacKinnon—are examples of powerful public intellectuals who support the position that sex work is an abomination that must be eliminated. These two feminists also serve as case studies of the possibilities and limitations of the public intellectual concept. I find much to support in their theories, although ultimately, the position I take in favor of decriminalization (see p. 164) is antithetical to their position. Further, I include a discussion of radical feminist perspectives because these views are often echoed in the laws and power structures that keep prostitutes and other sexual minorities from realizing the rights bestowed on other citizens.

Radical Feminists

Radical feminists advocate the immediate elimination of all forms of sex work. They position pornography, prostitution, and other sex professions as the most egregious manifestations of male hegemony—a power that commodifies and enslaves women. As Bromberg (1997) explains, "radical feminism opposes prostitution on the grounds that it degrades women and furthers the power politics of the male gender." Radical feminists do not accept that sex workers enjoy any personal agency. Indeed, as Weitzer (2005) notes, radical feminists maintain that "any distinction between forced and voluntary prostitution is a myth, since some coercion is claimed to always be involved, even if the worker is unaware of it" (p. 212).

Some radical feminists believe that prostitution and the systematic exploitation of women are inseparable (Chancer, 2000), while others argue that all heterosexual sex demeans and brutalizes women, and that successful, autonomous women should aspire to a type of asexuality (Kesler, 2002; Hunt, 1999). Some radical feminists hold that prostitution forces women to sell not only sex, but their very humanity as well.

Radical feminist discourses construct the prostitute as merely a commodity—a body and a soul available to any man for a fee. The prostitute is a poor, unthinking, powerless, and debased creature, a product of male violence and male power, an ally of male patriarchy, an embarrassment for feminism, and a moral travesty. She is constructed as a social problem, and she must be eliminated. There are no other options.

Andrea Dworkin

Andrea Dworkin is a radical feminist who has spent her life campaigning against what she describes as the heterosexual male agenda to commodify, sexualize, and dehumanize women. Dworkin's views are interpreted by many as the hyperbolic ramblings of a demented feminist. Still, I find a degree of truth that is very disturbing in her work. Dworkin (2004) claims that "most women now are treated as whores; and so are girls growing up, as if their sexuality should be a sexuality of sexual service" (p. 142). My reality suggests that most of the men who inhabit my social spaces do not think about or treat women as whores. But, I cannot simply dismiss Dworkin's views. Paula Simons (2006) reports that a retail shop in Edmonton is selling T-shirts for girls aged 10 to 12 that read "Almost Legal (So please be patient)" (p. B1). Simons feels the shirts insinuate that "pre-teen girls are ready and raring for sex, fair game for adult males the moment they turn 14." She suggests that "the way our consumer culture packages and markets young girls as sexual commodities is vile." I agree. All of us—fathers and mothers and social activists—must begin to explore the hypocrisy of a sexual morality that condemns prostitution while encouraging little girls to dress like prostitutes.

Dworkin does not restrict her thesis to the suggestion that all men think all women are whores. She goes one step forward and claims that men hate women. Dworkin (1993) believes that "when men use women in prostitution, they are expressing a pure hatred for the female body….It is a contempt so deep, so deep, that a whole human life is reduced to a few sexual orifices, and he can do anything he wants." Dworkin believes that patriarchy is the product of the reality that men are born hating women, including their mothers and their sisters. When Dworkin demands that all forms of sex work must immediately be eliminated, is she asking for reform of the patriarchal state, or is she asking that men's minds somehow be altered? Is she suggesting that sexuality is socially constructed? biologically determined? both?

Dworkin (1996) tells us that the reason prostitution exists is very simple. Women as "whores exist only within a framework of male sexual domination….Outside that framework the notion of whores would be absurd and the usage of women as whores would be absurd" (p. 298). Dworkin defines prostitution as patriarchal violence. I suggest that Dworkin may be guilty of faulty ontological reasoning. She seems to believe that because prostitution is solely a product of male supremacy, it necessarily follows that prostitution will be eliminated with the elimination of male supremacy. But are there other reasons for the existence of prostitution, in addition to male hegemony? What roles do race and class play in prostitution? Razack (1998) notes that a "monocausal" perspective on prostitution "does not enable us to see how some women, for example, middle-class women, are stakeholders in [prostitution]..., which begins with racism and economic exploitation as much as it does with sexism" (p. 354). Furthermore, Dworkin's thesis suggests that all prostitutes are whores, and indeed, that in a patriarchy, all women are whores. Dworkin (1993) states that "women in general are considered to be dirty." She insists that the only difference between "middle-class," respectable women and female prostitutes is that prostitutes live the "literal reality of being the dirty woman."

Dworkin cannot imagine and cannot accept any scenario which might foster positive working conditions for sex workers. McIntosh (1996) explains that Dworkin "rails against the injustice of being labeled a 'vile whore', but does not engage with the actual politics of prostitution" (p. 337). McIntosh suggests that Dworkin offers no room "for subversion or destabilization, let alone reform or amelioration" (p. 337). Furthermore, Dworkin cannot accept that some women may have positive prostitution experiences, and she ignores the degrees of danger prostitutes face as a result of the locations in which they work. For example, Dworkin (1993) does not accept that the experiences of prostitutes working in posh environments are any different from those who work on the streets. "The distinctions…people make between whether the event took place in the Plaza Hotel or somewhere more inelegant are not the distinctions that matter….The circumstances don't mitigate or modify what prostitution is."

Dworkin loses credibility by indulging in wave after wave of passionate invective. She accepts no boundaries when condemning sex work. Dworkin (1993) explains that the prostitute is "treated as…vaginal slime. She is dirty; a lot of men have been there. A lot of semen, a lot of vaginal lubricant….her anus is often torn from the anal intercourse, it bleeds. Her mouth is a receptacle for semen….All women are considered dirty because of menstrual blood but she bleeds other times, other places." I find that the vitriolic language that Dworkin and others use to condemn pornography and prostitution is itself pornographic: It prostitutes prostitution for political ends. By this I mean that Dworkin uses graphic language to describe the reality of the lives lived by some street prostitutes to make her case for the condemnation of all prostitution. She generalizes from the particular to the general. She uses street prostitution as a shocking symbol designed to overwhelm rational thought, much in the same way that some "pro-life" activists use images of aborted fetuses to propel the desired social action. Vance (1997) explains that "emotion aroused by an image is easily attached to rhetorical arguments, [thus] overwhelming more subtle analysis and response" in intended audiences

(p. 332). Ironically, Dworkin's work itself is used by some people as pornography designed to stimulate their sexual passions. Stark (2004) introduces Donna Minkowitz, who masturbates while reading passages describing sexual violence in Dworkin's novel *Mercy.* Stark notes that the "passage Minkowitz quotes from *Mercy* ends with the words 'he kept tearing me to pieces' " (p. 286).

I have no doubt that Dworkin feels great pain for the plight of prostitutes who suffer in their daily lives. But does Dworkin have other agendas? Is her attack on prostitution also an attack on heterosexuality? Bell (1994) notes that, for Dworkin, "all intercourse, by the very action of penetration, is violation." This is evident in the following statement:

> There is never a real privacy of the body that can coexist with intercourse: with being entered. The vagina itself is a muscle and the muscles have to be pushed apart. The thrusting is persistent invasion. She is opened up, split down the center. She is occupied—physically, internally, in her privacy….Violation is a synonym for intercourse. (Dworkin as cited in Bell, p. 81)

Dworkin believes that heterosexual sex practices always involve an element of violence inflicted upon women. I suggest that this a simplistic and flawed analysis. As Vance (1997) cautions, "[I]t is all too easy to cast sexual experience as either wholly pleasurable or dangerous": "[W]omen's actual sexual experience is more complicated, more difficult to grasp, more unsettling" (p. 329).

Dworkin's polemical position on heterosexuality and prostitution suggests that she is incapable of listening to prostitution rights advocates. Certainly, she would have grave difficulty listening to my male voice calling for divergent discourses to join in the short-term goal of saving the lives of today's prostitutes. Still, I am amazed to find that Dworkin's thinking and my own can sometimes be remarkably similar. For example, I recommend that an important short-term strategy for a public pedagogy working to improve the daily lives of street prostitutes is to lobby for an immediate truce, a cessation of antagonisms between the warring voices in the great prostitution debate. During our truce, we agree that no more prostitutes will be murdered or terrorized. For a period of one or two years, we will marshal our resources to protect Canada's prostitutes. Imagine my great surprise when reading a transcript of one of Dworkin's speeches (1983), delivered to a group of 500 men, where she makes a similar request regarding the rape of women. "Go and organize a truce. Stop your side for one day. I want a twenty-four-hour truce during which there is no rape." I agree this is a good idea, but Dworkin and I part company at a crucial point. I argue for *everyone* to join in a campaign to eradicate violence against prostitutes; Dworkin sees men as the enemy who occupy a social space deliberately situated apart from and in competition with women.

I suspect Dworkin would have difficulty listening to my voice as an academic as well as a male, although I have used the advice she offers to guide my own work. Dworkin (1993) believes that academics are too removed from the realities of prostitutes' lives to ever be able to help them. She claims that "academic life is premised on the notion that there is a tomorrow and a next day and a next day;...that there is some kind of discourse of ideas and a year of freedom in which you can have disagreements that will not cost you your life." Ironically, Dworkin made this statement in a speech she delivered to a group of academics.

I agree that prostitution discourses, both in the academy and across society, can become ideologically entrenched and detached from daily realities. Social transformation, however one chooses to describe it, is difficult to achieve, and requires both theory and action. Butler (2004) agrees, cautioning that although theory is "itself transformative [it is not] "sufficient for social and political transformation" (p. 204). She suggests that "something besides theory must take place, such as interventions at social and political levels that involve actions, sustained labor, and institutionalized practice" (p. 204). I develop the concept of theory as practice in Chapter 7.

Catharine MacKinnon

Catharine MacKinnon (1996) is a radical Marxist feminist who advocates the immediate abolition of prostitution. Economic or Marxist feminist perspectives condemn prostitution as a symptom of a corrupt capitalist system that forces women to sell themselves because other alternatives are not available to them. Kesler (2002) quotes Carol Pateman, who suggests that capitalism converts or changes the very nature and inherent integrity of some social phenomena into commodities. Thus, sex for sale is different from sex which is not for sale.

MacKinnon (1996) believes that "sexuality is to feminism what work is to Marxism: that which is most one's own, yet most taken away" (p. 182). Pateman (1988) suggests that "Marxist critics of prostitution take their lead from Marx's statement that 'prostitution is only a specific expression of the general prostitution of the laborer' " (p. 201). According to Marxist feminists, says Pateman, "prostitution…represents the economic coercion, exploitation and alienation of wage labour" (p. 201). MacKinnon explains that "Marxism and feminism are theories of power and its distribution: inequality" (p. 182).

The heart of MacKinnon's feminist ideology is that the "substantive principle governing the authentic politics of women's personal lives is pervasive powerlessness to men, expressed and reconstituted daily as sexuality" (p. 186). Bell suggests that, for MacKinnon, "prostitution is the central metaphor for female sexuality.… Prostitution…signals that female sexuality is entirely constructed as an object of male desire" (p. 80). Bell criticizes MacKinnon's position; she notes that positing female sexuality as nothing but prostitution "is blind to the potential for anything but disempowered female sexuality" (p. 83). McIntosh (1996) supports Bell's view, and explains that "many heterosexual men do not act out the current hegemonic notions of masculinity; and many heterosexual women resist dominant ideas of feminine passivity" (p. 337).

Shaver (1994) takes up McIntosh's point in her critique of MacKinnon's theorizing of male power in patriarchal society. MacKinnon (2006) suggests that "the state has power over civil society, a feminized realm within which male dominance is permitted free rein, simultaneously masculinizing the state" (p. 5). Shaver explains that, for MacKinnon, "sexuality of any kind is a social construct of male power" (p. 142). Shaver notes that it is unclear whether MacKinnon is attacking all forms of heterosexual sex, including commercial sex, or if she is saying that sex under patriarchy is the problem. Shaver suggests that—if the latter interpretation is correct—both commercial and noncommercial sex would improve under different conditions, with the result that prostitution "is not destined to become obsolete" (p. 142). I agree with Shaver's view that prostitution will persist even in a gender-equal society. For one, I question whether patriarchy is the sole cause of prostitution, or if it is a cause at all. Furthermore, I question whether gender equality would validate prostitution, or if prostitution would continue to be attacked by other institutions—our churches, for example—as immoral. Perhaps the whole discussion is moot, played out in academic circles while women continue to die on city streets. Dworkin has made this point.

For Catharine MacKinnon, as for many feminists, the degree to which an individual or a group of similar individuals is human is an important theme. *The Guardian* reporter Stuart Jeffries (2006) notes that MacKinnon's latest book, published in 2006, is called *Are Women Human?* MacKinnon tells Jeffries that the answer to her book's title is "No."

> If women were human, would we be a cash crop shipped from Thailand in containers into New York's brothels? Would we be sexual and reproductive slaves? Would we be bred, worked without pay our whole lives, burned when our dowry money wasn't enough or when men tired of us, starved us…as widows when our husbands died.

MacKinnon believes that women are not fully human because men, who have the power, construct women as things existing only for sex. But do men actually have the power to determine who is human and who is not? I suggest that many of the complexities inherent in human interaction are ignored when social theorists focus exclusively on sexuality or sexism. Such a focus makes no consideration for the roles that class, race, gender, or religion play in the construction of sexual objectification.

I take inspiration from postmodern efforts to deconstruct long-standing truths held by society around so-called facts about morality, gender, sexuality, femininity, masculinity, and so forth. MacKinnon, on the other hand, summarily rejects postmodern efforts to establish, for example, that sex workers may realize some agency in their lives through sex work. MacKinnon (2005) comments on "how remarkable it is to go all over the world and have people telling…[her] how happy women in prostitution are. You take the most oppressed situation of women and present it as what they're choosing" (p. 2).

MacKinnon (2006) suggests that "agency in the postmodern lexicon is a stand-in for the powerless exercising power" (p. 55). She believes that the "point of postmodernism is to get as far away from anything real as possible….Postmodernism has decided that because truth died with God, there are no social facts" (pp. 55–56). Unfortunately, the hard, unalterable truths to which MacKinnon slavishly adheres often turn a blind eye to their own very real culpability in the violences inflicted upon minorities, as well as to the possibilities for human evolution. I ask that we move beyond MacKinnon's intransigence toward a philosophy of life and hope as exemplified by Judith Butler's words of wisdom:

> It may be that life itself becomes foreclosed when the right way is decided in advance, or when we impose what is right for everyone, without finding a way to enter into community and discover the "right" in the midst of cultural translation. It may be that what is "right" and what is "good" consist in staying open to tensions that beset the most fundamental categories we require, to know unknowingness at the core of what we know, and what we need, and to recognize the sign of life—and its prospects. (2004, pp. 226–227)

As I noted earlier, there is virtually no space for dialogue between prostitutes' voices and those of radical feminists such as Dworkin and MacKinnon. Still, I believe a public pedagogy could identify a few places where constructive dialogue might begin. For example, MacKinnon (cited by Albertini & Blake, 2005) suggests that women tolerate the position they find themselves in as prostitutes because "they have no alternative but to make the best of it as it is." She emphasizes that "our job is to create real alternatives for them [prostitutes]." Is this an idea that most people could support? A place where dialogue could begin? Perhaps. But even in her desire to help, MacKinnon is speaking *for* prostitutes, not *with* them. She is speaking about finding alternative types of work for women: She is not interested in helping prostitutes achieve better working conditions *as* prostitutes. MacKinnon's position that prostitution harms all women has the effect of leaving no space for radical feminism to act as an agent for the transformation of sex work as legitimate work.

Chancer (2000) suggests that the rigid feminisms of MacKinnon and Dworkin may reproduce "another version of sexual repression" which may result in women beginning to "fear acknowledging pleasure they found in heterosexuality, pornography, or sadomasochistically oriented sexual practices—whether politically correct or not" (p. 83). Chancer explains that the sex wars that have characterized the debates between radical feminists and sex-positive feminists have been divisive for the movement, and she recommends efforts to move beyond "either-or visions of the social world" to a "both-and" approach (p. 86). Chancer suggests that with "both-and" partnerships, "collective demands can be made, challenging institutionally based power and raising questions of political economy; at the same time, valid differences between women are left to stand" (p. 86). For example, within a "both-and" partnership "disagreements about an individual woman's engagement with sex work need…[not] deflect feminist attentions away from the larger social context in which that woman often does not experience genuine economic choice" (p. 86). I believe Chancer offers a reasonable compromise between the rigid oppositions within feminism.

Carole Pateman

Carole Pateman (1988) takes a radical feminist perspective in building her theory of patriarchy and male power. Pateman explains that, in a patriarchal society, prostitution reinforces hegemonic masculinity. Within a patriarchy, women do not have the option of freely choosing prostitution. Men, on the other hand, can temporarily leave their spaces of respectability by entering and then leaving the degenerate spaces of prostitutes. Through this process, prostitution reifies hegemonic masculinity (Razack, 1998).

Pateman's theory of patriarchy centers on the idea of the social contract, which was developed in the 17th and 18th centuries by philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes and John Locke. For Hobbes, as Berns (1987) explains, passion, not reason, is "most powerful in most men most of the time" (p. 397). Man's greatest passion is "the fear of violent death" (p. 401). In order for man to improve his chances for self-preservation, he needs to develop a civil society, which will protect his right to self-preservation. Civil society in the form of a commonwealth is developed with the understanding that men will join together in partnership with a sovereign who will protect the lives and liberties of individual men from the passions of their fellow men. Hobbes calls this agreement between the sovereign and the people a social contract (Berns, pp. 400–405). Locke furthers Hobbes' development of social contract theory. Goldwin (1987) suggests that Locke believed the social contract was fragile: He "recognized passion as the supreme power in human nature and argued that reason can do no more than serve the most powerful and universal desire [the desire for life] and guide it to its fulfillment" (p. 509). Goldwin explains that "Locke's great theme was freedom and his great argument was that there is no freedom where there is no law" (p. 509).

In Pateman's theorizing (1988), "the social contract is a story of freedom" (p. 2). Pateman explains that the original social contract "is sexual in the sense of patriarchal [in that it] establishes men's political right over women" (p. 2). The contract is also sexual "in the sense of establishing orderly access by men to women's bodies" (p. 2). Bell explains that, for Pateman, the original social contract is "simultaneously social and sexual; the sexual contract has been absorbed and rendered invisible in the social contract" (p. 75), or, to quote Nancy Fraser (1997), the sexual contract "is the suppressed gender subtext of the theory" (p. 225). Pateman explains that while the social contract was designed to give men more freedom, the "sexual contract is a story of subjection" (p. 2). Fraser suggests that, according to Pateman, although theorists such as Locke "rejected 'paternal right' as the model for 'political right,' they nevertheless assumed husbands' conjugal rights over wives, while redefining such rights as 'non-political' " (p. 226). Pateman explains that "the original contract creates… 'the law of male sex-right.' Contract is far from being opposed to patriarchy; contract is the means through which modern patriarchy is constituted" (p. 2). According to Pateman, because the original social contract is an agreement between men only, it follows that a hidden sexual contract exists which places women in a subordinate position to men.

Fraser suggests that, "in Pateman's view, the dyadic master/subject model constructs our understandings of masculinity, femininity, sexuality, and sexual difference. It is the symbolic template of patriarchal culture" (p. 226). Fraser notes that Pateman describes prostitution as the "real-life commercial manifestation of the sexual contract, a case of 'male sex-right' gone public" (p. 232). She explains that, for Pateman, prostitution is not a "simple free-market exchange. Rather, prostitution institutionalizes male sex-right" (p. 232). Fraser suggests that, for Pateman, it is a distortion to think of prostitution as simply the sale of sexual services because the prostitute's sexual organs "cannot be used without her presence, nor without her subordination" (p. 232). The prostitution contract thus establishes a master/subject relationship in which a man commands a woman's body. It thereby enacts the patriarchal meanings of "masculinity as sexual mastery and femininity as sexual subjection" (p. 232).

Miriam (2005) shares Pateman's views, and suggests that "what is really sold in the prostitution…contract is…a relation of command: the prostitute…sells command over her body to the john/pimp" (p. 4). Fraser, on the other hand, questions whether "notions of mastery and subjection exhaust the full meanings of masculinity, femininity, and sexuality" (p. 227). She argues that the prostitution contract cannot be adequately understood by using Pateman's master/subject model, and suggests that the pimp/prostitute relationship is a better example of a master/subject relationship than the john/prostitute relationship. Fraser notes that, unlike marriage, prostitution does not establish a long-term relation of dependence between johns and prostitutes. At best, the john has only a fleeting dominance. In addition, the prostitute/john relationship is subject to advance negotiations which limit the power of the john. Fraser observes that prostitutes "at the upper end of the occupational scale enjoy considerable control in the sexual transaction itself and considerable autonomy outside of it" (p. 233). Finally, Fraser notes that, in some masculine cultures, there is shame in having to purchase sex. For these reasons, she asserts, johns often do not have that much power.

Shaver (1994) supports Fraser's misgivings concerning Pateman's theory that prostitution reifies male sex-right: "The validity of Pateman's charge is undermined by the fact that prostitutes are the one group of women who disavow male sex-right by insisting upon payment (access to their bodies is not free)" (p. 142).

It is my position that the concept of male sex-right lives on, to some degree, in Canadian society. I agree with Miriam (2005), who explains that "there is a blind spot in the pro-sex-work theory where [male sex-] right remains invisible as such, partly because male power is invisible to it as *domination* and only intelligible as *coercive force*" (p. 14). By this, Miriam means that those who support pro-sex-work theories mistakenly feel that sex workers are " 'free' unless forcibly coerced into prostitution" (p. 14). I raise these points because, when I recommend decriminalizing prostitution (see p. 164), I do so with the knowledge that the degree of empowerment realized by sex workers varies dramatically across the prostitution field. Canada ought therefore to remain vigilant in its enforcement of laws designed to protect prostitutes' human rights.

Susanne Kappeler

Susanne Kappeler (1996) suggests that "the male gender's project of constituting male subjectivity…is the means by which the male subject convinces himself that he is real, his necessary production of a feeling of life. He feels the more real, the less real the Other, the less of a subject the Other, the less alive the Other" (p. 306). Kappeler feels that the fundamental problem at the root of all the injustices men inflict upon women is one of "seeing." Men see women in a way that can only result in wanting to treat women "as objects for conquest and protection" (p. 305).

As a man speaking about feminist issues in a patriarchal society, my ability to break free from biologically and socially constructed ways of seeing the world has indisputable implications for my theorizing about feminism—and about the impact of feminist theories on the daily lives of prostitutes.

Kappeler's analysis is helpful for my theorizing about prostitution and about male power. Her work helps me to interrogate my culpability, both as an individual man and as a member of the male elite, in the construction of women as secondary citizens. I agree with Kappeler's observation that many people, both men and women, regard prostitutes and sexual minorities, regardless of their genders, as "Other." It is this aspect of Kappeler's work which has the most important implications for my own theorizing about sexual minorities. However, Kappeler's work is weakened by her use of the radical feminist rhetorical device, or essentialist position (Weitzer, 2005), that paints all men with the same brush. I do not accept, for example, that I, either consciously or otherwise, try to become more real or more powerful by deliberately denigrating my wife. Nor do I accept the presumption that I reinforce my male power by assuming the role of protector of my wife, mother, sister, or female friends. What Kappeler may fail to understand is that her theory embeds the notion that all women just naturally succumb to the male power agenda and that women do not have their own power.

I feel that Kappeler's work, and the work of other radical feminists, runs the risk of alienating those individuals who genuinely and humbly seek a world wherein all sexual minorities feel equal and welcome. Both from a personal perspective as a man and from a sociological perspective, I take sustenance from Judith Butler's thoughts (2004) concerning the question of "what makes a livable world." Butler suggests that "it becomes a question for ethics…when we ask, from a position of power, and from the point of view of distributive justice, what makes, or ought to make, the lives of others bearable" (p. 17).

Radical Feminism as Exclusion

For me, many radical feminists share an important commonality: They espouse discourses of exclusion. Butler explains that the process of finding "a common bond" with our fellow citizens entails "seeking recourse to socially instituted relations, ones that have been formed over time, and which give us a sense of the 'common' only by excluding those lives which do not fit the norm" (p. 206). Kari Kesler (2002), a sociologist and former prostitute whose views I discuss later in this chapter, observes that "many feminists see lesbian sex at one end of a continuum, representing an absolute shunning of patriarchy and male oppression; prostitutes exist at the other end of this continuum, upholding and perpetuating a patriarchal system that is damaging to all women," thus constructing prostitutes as *other* to the *other* (p. 229). Kesler explains that many prostitutes react angrily to feminist discourses that seem to construct feminists as "madonnas" and prostitutes as "whores" (p. 229). I suggest that the radical feminism that Kesler describes is an example of exclusionary feminism or hegemonic matriarchy.

A further example of feminism as exclusion is offered by bell hooks (2000), who suggests that "bourgeois white women, especially radical feminists,…[are] envious of and angry at privileged white men for denying them an equal share in class privilege" (pp. 68–69). In my view, radical feminists have a legitimate right to be angry in the face of patriarchal discrimination. However, hooks explains that radical feminists are "not eager to call attention to the fact that men do not share a common social status, that patriarchy does not negate the existence of class and race privilege or exploitation, that all men do not benefit equally from sexism" (p. 69). Hooks suggests that poor or working-class men are socialized to oppress women while being oppressed themselves by dominant male power. She explains that "assertions like 'all men are the enemy' and 'all men hate women' lump[s]…all groups of men in one category, thereby suggesting that they share equally in all forms of male privilege" (p. 69). This is not the case, and hooks invites us to explore the subtleties, nuances, and complexities of the human condition.

In my view, feminisms of exclusion occur primarily when feminist discourses address specific problem areas, and then generalize their conclusions across social fields: This creates what Vance (1997) describes as "false universals" (p. 333). Such generalizations are evident in the sphere of prostitution. I support Bromberg's (1997) idea that "radical feminist views are thoughtful but not always delineated sufficiently to support a credible theory that prostitution degrades all women."

Another example of generalizations that create false universals can be found in Sheila Jeffreys' condemnation of postmodern and queer theory. Jeffreys (2004) attacks postmodern theory, which she presents as a gay conspiracy, because it suggests that "there is no such thing as 'truth' which conveniently allows for a moral relativism in which it is very unfashionable to protest against any behaviour or condition of oppression." Jeffreys, who works from a modernist perspective, provides the example of Shannon Bell, a postmodern feminist, and condemns Bell's assertion that "there is no 'inherent meaning' to prostitution." I suggest that Jeffreys, who advocates the immediate criminalization of all sex work, distorts Bell's thesis in order to make a blanket condemnation of any effort to understand the complex nature of prostitution. Bell (1994) does not deny the existence of truth. Rather, she explains that the "unitary definition of truth which has since Plato characterized Western thought has been replaced by multiple truths" (p. 5). Jeffreys, taking a radical, modernist, feminist perspective, wages war against patriarchy by condemning prostitution and condemning any feminist or any prostitute who tries to present a more nuanced or more positive assessment of the field of prostitution. She sees only one truth regarding prostitution: It reifies heterosexual male power.

One illogical conclusion drawn by some radical feminists who condemn heterosexual sex practices in patriarchal societies is that sex should be eliminated. Solanas (2000) proclaims that "sex is the refuge of the mindless" (p. 213). She maintains that sex is a "gross waste of time," and that only "mindless" women enjoy sex. Solanas believes that "the female can easily—far more easily than she may think—condition away her sex drive, leaving her completely cool and cerebral and free to pursue truly worthy relationships and activities" (p. 213). Solanas' position is a good example of misogyny turned on its head. She suggests that the male is "eaten up with hate,...irrational, indiscriminate hate...hatred, at bottom, of his own worthless self" (p. 215). Her worldview is particularly disappointing because it offers no social space for constructive dialogue between men and women about sexuality or sex work. All men and "mindless" women are deliberately excluded from Solanas' world. Certainly, she would be incapable of learning from the opinions, ideas, and experiences of "mindless" sex workers.

Feminisms of exclusion do not ignore gay and lesbian sexual practices. MacKinnon (1989) suggests that "sexuality is so gender marked that it carries dominance and submission with it, whatever the gender of its participants" (p. 142). Jeffreys (1996) offers a contortionist's feat of logic by attacking gay sexual practices—which for her are a "postmodern" construct—as a "direct threat to the possibility of women's liberation" (p. 240). Her theory suggests that gay modeling of masculine and feminine sexual roles—dominance and submission—and/or gay worship of masculinity as expressed through sadomasochism, is proof that heterosexuality is inherently violent against women.

> The S/M scenario that many gay men are able to make of their whole sexual practice, based upon fetishised masculinity and femininity, should make clear, supposing any doubt remains, that the traditional heterosexual system is an S/M romance. Through the exaggeration of the characteristics of gender roles, the naked, eroticised power dynamic which fuels heterosexuality is laid bare. (p. 241)

Lesbians are susceptible to similar attacks. For example, MacKinnon (1989) believes that lesbian sexual practices remain "constructed under conditions of male supremacy....The definition of women as men's inferiors remains sexual even if not heterosexual, whether men are present...or not" (pp. 141–142). Transsexual theorist Pat Califia (1996) explains that feminists such as Jeffreys and MacKinnon use sadomasochism, a concept "originally used to attack...the sexual repression of women,...to attack a sexual minority" (p. 235). Califia makes the following plea to feminists, which I believe serves equally well as a plea by prostitutes to radical feminists and to all Canadians.

> We make you uncomfortable, partly because we're different, partly because we're sexual, and partly because we're not so different. I'd like to know when you're going to quit blaming us, the victims of sexual repression, for the oppression of women. I'd like to know when you're going to quit objectifying us. (p. 237)

Voices in Response to Radical Feminist Theory

The radical feminist perspective holds that all prostitution is evil, that it is an assault upon prostitutes and upon all women, that it is sexual slavery imposed upon powerless women who would never willingly choose to become prostitutes, and that the full weight of the law should be imposed against everyone involved in prostitution, with the possible exception of prostitutes themselves. On the other side of the spectrum of feminist discourses, the sex-positive, sex-radical, or liberal perspective holds that prostitutes are quite capable of choosing to become prostitutes, that they often feel empowered by prostitution, and that prostitution should be decriminalized because criminalization has the effect of stigmatizing and endangering prostitutes. Yob (2000) notes that sex-positive feminists believe that "feminism has lost its way by calling on the structures of patriarchy itself (the law, politics, the state security system, for instance) to stop violence against women" (p. 386). She points out that this approach has resulted in oppressive sexual harassment civil laws and anti-pornography laws that seek to control sexual expression, and that are "often enforced selectively, weighing disproportionately upon (female) sex workers, and gays and lesbians" (p. 386).

Sex-positive feminists lobby for the decriminalization of prostitution and believe that the positions and views of radical feminists contribute to the murders and the dangerous, unhealthy working conditions that characterize the daily experiences of prostitutes. Sex-positive feminists believe that radical feminists deliberately focus their attentions on the difficult and dangerous lives of street prostitutes, who constitute only a small percentage of sex workers. (Most data suggest that only around 15 to 20% of prostitutes work on the streets.) By ignoring the work experiences of sex workers who display significant agency and satisfaction with their work, radical feminists can more successfully make the case to legislators, judicial institutions, and the media that prostitution must be outlawed.

The fact that feminism is beset by numerous and conflicting beliefs is not in itself a negative. Judith Butler (2004) explains that, "as a democratic enterprise, feminism has had to forfeit the presumption that at base we [feminists] can all agree about some things or, equivalently, to embrace the notion that each of our most treasured values are under contestation and that they will remain contested zones of politics" (p. 175). Butler argues for an engaged, politically active feminism that is strengthened by the chaotic, discordant discourses that characterize feminism. She maintains that "forms of internal dissension emerge" during the course of "engaged political practices," and that "resisting the desire to resolve this dissension into unity is precisely what keeps the movement alive" (p. 175).

I applaud Butler's desire to invite various forms of internal feminist dissension to emerge through political activism. However, I believe that the immediate and profound dangers faced by street prostitutes today, tomorrow, and into the foreseeable future dictate that some consensus is quickly reached to develop an appropriate, short-term strategy designed to improve or save lives.

Kari Kesler

Kari Kesler, a feminist, sociologist, and former prostitute, explores the possibility of a feminist stance in support of prostitution. She notes that the majority of prostitutes do not identify themselves as feminists "because they feel that there is no place in feminism for them" (p. 220). Ironically, as Kesler notes with a quote from the 1986 Second World Whores Congress, "many prostitutes identify with feminist values such as independence, financial autonomy, sexual self-determination, personal strength, and female bonding" (p. 220). Kesler suggests that prostitutes who freely choose to be prostitutes and who have achieved "control and autonomy" in their lives are actually "role models" for feminists (p. 234).

Kesler denounces the feminist stance that equates prostitution with the selling of one's humanity. She counters that prostitutes are selling a sexual service, not their humanity. However, as Kesler also notes, "that one might view a woman's sexuality as her 'humanity' is not surprising in a culture that routinely reduces women to only their sexuality" (p. 226). Kesler explains that negative feminist characterizations of prostitutes are responsible for helping to create a degraded and potentially dangerous social position for prostitutes: "[T]he stigma attached to prostitution fosters this notion of 'selling yourself,' and works to further silence prostitute women, giving many of them no other framework in which to interpret their experiences" (p. 226). Kesler implores feminists to dispense with the "us/them, good girl/bad girl mentality that does not allow for dialogue" (p. 234). Kesler's response to the work of Dworkin, MacKinnon, and other radicals who believe that "all heterosexual sex is demeaning" is that such views do not "leave much room for agency" (p. 234). Rather, they contribute to a culture "which degrades women who choose sex work as their profession" (p. 234).

Kesler takes exception to Pateman's belief that prostitution reifies patriarchy:

> I would argue that, while prostitution may reify patriarchal right on some level…, it is the whore stigma that is more to blame. It is the stigma that functions to keep women in line, guaranteeing that women must depend on only one man for financial support, and that her body is available only to him. (p. 228)

Kesler deconstructs Pateman's assertion that the sexual contract gives women protection within marriage, but not within prostitution. She wonders why Pateman overlooks the reality that "women are most at risk for sexual and physical assault from their own husbands, and are also often abandoned with no financial support" (p. 228). Kesler also disagrees with Pateman's statement that acts of prostitution are only enjoyed by men, and that prostitutes experience no desire or satisfaction.

> She [Pateman] ignores the experiences of women who enjoy their work as prostitutes, and trivializes the role of the prostitute. Her focus, which is solely on the body, with no attention to the skills and services a prostitute brings to the encounter, strips prostitute women of all agency. Prostitutes are not simply 'bodies', and I find it highly ironic that a feminist analysis of prostitution should objectify women in this way. (p. 229)

Kesler's observation that many feminists do not understand the complex nature of prostitution is supported by Weitzer (2005), who emphasizes that a more nuanced understanding of prostitution is necessary to counter the "essentialist" (p. 211) perspective of radical feminists.

> Radical feminism sees prostitution as the quintessential form of male domination over women—the epitome of women's subordination, degradation, and victimization. It has been called an essentialist perspective because its sweeping claims apply to all historical time periods, all societies, and all types of prostitution. (pp. 211–212)

Kesler believes that the most serious deficiency in feminist discourses about prostitution is a lack of knowledge about the actual opinions and experiences of prostitutes. She notes that most feminists only understand prostitution as street prostitution and therefore "tend to overstate incidents of violence and exploitation" (p. 233). Weitzer (2005) suggests the need for an "alternative paradigm" that "incorporates the multiple realities of workers and other actors, and…encompasses different types of prostitution (p. 214). Weitzer explains that radical feminism ignores the hierarchical nature of prostitution:

> Workers differ in their risk of victimization: Assault, robbery, and rape are occupational hazards for streetwalkers and for those coercively trafficked into prostitution, but are relatively uncommon among off-street workers who are not recruited by force or fraud. Substantial, and sometimes huge differences are reported in studies that compare street prostitutes with call girls, brothel workers, and escorts….Yet this variation and segmentation is masked in radical feminism.
> (pp. 215–216)

Kesler suggests that if feminists understood the "subtleties and nuances of the [prostitution] profession," they could more easily understand that many prostitutes are feminists, and indeed role models, who have "carved out for themselves a niche where they have freedom and control" (pp. 233–234). Kesler concludes with words that I believe should guide all prostitution discourses: "Form your own opinion about sex work, but don't do it until you have talked with the women who live this life" (p. 234). I use this advice in Chapter 7, where I develop a public pedagogy model designed to enhance and empower the position of prostitutes and sexual minorities in Canadian society.

Prostitutes' Voices

> The mainstream feminist opinion, which I call establishment feminism, state-loyal feminism, still proclaims prostitute women are sick, stupid, easily forcible and manipulatable—inferior in one word. And, they say prostitutes are women unable to speak for themselves, kind of degenerate women who live through men—through one man, their pimp, or through their customers. That is my experience. The sad thing is, women who have never had our experience and don't want to work in the sex industry also don't want to hear what we can tell them. (A West German prostitute, as quoted in McGinnis, 1994, p. 118)

Philosopher Laurie Shrage (2004) notes that "rather than dictate from the ivory tower what marginalized women need, some feminists argue that we need to lend our expertise and social connections to disempowered women workers, including sex workers, while at the same time listening to and engaging them respectfully on the issues of strategy and goals." This point of view is shared by Bromberg (1997), who recommends that "political passions and rhetorical arguments must be set aside to let reason prevail and effect the greatest social change in the future." However, Bromberg also cautions that "polemics, histrionics, and outright distortions of the truth are many times used to garner public attention and enlist support from the community." She explains that the manipulation of public passions means that "any claims that prostitutes put forth as credible arguments for the legalization of prostitution, or for its decriminalization, necessarily will meet with extreme skepticism" (p. 14). The belief that prostitutes are unable to speak for themselves is echoed in a statement by Kathleen Mahoney, a spokesperson for the Women's Legal Education and Action Fund (LEAF), who claims that no matter what prostitutes may say, the reality is that they are all "tortured, drug-addicted, extremely unhappy, abused people" (cited in McGinnis, 1994, p. 118).

Saunders (2005) explains that the term prostitution "carries profound symbolic weight and has been invoked as a metaphor for societal breakdown, disease, challenges to patriarchal family life and the nation-state, colonialism, and ongoing inequalities....Thus much of the material published about sex workers over the last 150 years and resultant public policy has more to do with other social anxieties than with the human beings who engage in commercial sex" (p. 344).

Prostitution narratives must be given consideration and validation, despite radical feminists and others who believe that prostitutes are unable to think for themselves. The prostitutes' voices in the following section of this chapter are testament to the fallacy of this generalization.

The Joy of Sex Work: Defying the Stereotypes

Brewis and Linsted (1998) suggest that "there is considerable evidence that female prostitutes very often find their work sexually stimulating, and may even go further, finding clients attractive, or even falling in love" (p. 241). For example, Brewis and Linsted interviewed a prostitute who worked from her rented premises. They report that, according to the prostitute, "she did the job because she enjoyed it and that most of the clients she met were really pleasant. She enjoyed the sex,…enjoyed having orgasms, enjoyed dressing up and 'developing new talents', and enjoyed the conversation….Indeed she had even dated one of them" (p. 241).

Kate Holden (2005) worked as a street prostitute in Melbourne before joining a legal brothel. Her experience in the brothel was dramatically different than working on cold, dreary city streets with the constant fear of police harassment or arrest.

> In the closeness of a brothel bedroom emotions were different, faces drew close without trepidation. There were men with whom I thought I might fall in love; men who gave me effortless sexual pleasure; who looked at me with such a gaze as to allow me the luxury of confession. I told many of my clients parts of my life, wanting to impress upon them that a working girl was more than a body and an act….The longer I saw a man,

> if I genuinely liked him, the more foolish it seemed to keep up pretences. I saw no point in constructing a wholly false background, as some girls did. I was Lucy, but Lucy was not me; she had my stories, but she bragged when I would not have bragged, she felt satisfactions that I would not have. Lucy was braver than I, more open, behind her mask.
>
> My art was to reveal myself, but only as much as I wished.
>
> And I had reached a philosophy about working. Not for me the pretence that this job wasn't really my life; that it meant nothing to me beyond money. This was something that was changing me, empowering me, teaching me. I had never felt so competent, so adored. After several months, I was someone the newer girls looked to; I was asked to counsel the absolute beginners; I held influence. It was intoxicating. (p. 239)

Holden makes a point which is antithetical to radical feminist thinking. She explains that there were aspects of her work as a prostitute that she enjoyed. She created a network of clients that she was very fond of. She felt a loyalty to her customers, and sincerely wanted to please them and to make them happy. As the following quotation shows, she acted with the compassion and the enthusiasm that would characterize the approach of anyone working in one of the more traditional or more socially acceptable caring professions.

> Most men were pragmatic, able to recognize the limitations of our time together, and make the most of what they got. And this made for a happy case. Sometimes I was late out of a booking because I had been enjoying myself. No matter how often the receptionist or manager chided me, still there were times when I hadn't the heart to interrupt a conversation, or a man gasping towards climax when the buzzer went. Sometimes I saw my clients to the door with genuine laughter and a special last glance....Without always having to force a pretence of

> affection, I could actually find affection. For my regulars, with whom I built more and more of a relationship—keeping up with their news, sharing my own woes, learning their bodies…the shy young men, or awkward middle-aged ones. I began to love the tenderness of their skin, the anxieties they confessed, the humility of their needs. I took them to the room as a priest takes a penitent; I laid a calm hand on their shoulders and undressed them gently. (pp. 169–170)

Holden observed that one of her roles was similar to that of a sex therapist.

> Some were awful at sex—it never stopped amazing me how many men were so inept, so intimidated by women's bodies. They truly had no idea what to do. Or they were awkward in conversation: bewildered or contemptuous at the idea of talking as well as fucking. But I came to see, more and more clearly, how every man, however, unprepossessing, might bear a kind of grace; a sweet body under drab clothes; a sense of humour behind a stolid face; a readiness to admit uncertainty beyond their bravado. (p. 170)

Holden also discovered that her work as a prostitute helped her to feel proud of herself.

> Month by month, my vanity grew. I could help people; I could give them more tenderness than anyone; I had a mission. I cosseted my men, with soft kisses to their brows and an affectionate hand in theirs as I walked them out. They told me I was beautiful, special, the sexiest thing they'd ever seen. It was a heady experience to be so adored. Rank after rank of men coming in to compliment me, worship me, to pay for my time, my presence. How glorious I felt. (p. 196)

Heidi Mattson (1995) worked for a number of years as a topless dancer to finance her university studies and to support herself while she wrote her first book. She explains how she became interested in the positions feminism takes in response to sexual morality, and how she came to the realization that her own choice of employment had been both ethical and empowering.

> Issues of morality and equality intrigued me....It was clear that society prefers the safe and normal. Become difficult to categorize and society lumps you in with "bad," the scary...
>
> Fortunately...I came across the work of Camille Paglia....Reading Paglia's uncommon observations regarding female power struck a resounding chord.
>
> She wrote, "Woman is the dominant sex....Madonna, role model to millions of girls worldwide, has cured the ills of feminism by reasserting woman's command in the sexual realm." I related to this....I knew that I [as a topless dancer] was in command of myself, and wasn't that the ultimate goal of feminism?
>
> ...Some feminist philosophies, such as those of Andrea Dworkin and Catharine MacKinnon, infuriated me....[T]he victim perspective slanting their arguments bothered me. I wasn't raised as a victim....The solutions these women urged regarding equal rights problems upset me most. (Retreat from society because men created it?)....
>
> I began to relate my readings to my experiences both at the club and in my day-to-day life. Although I had hoped and thought otherwise, I secretly wondered if I possessed an undeniable sense of right and wrong. I realized now that I had been right all along. My decisions [vis-à-vis my choice of work] had been based on an unconscious sense of ethics and an ingrained sense

> of my worth, my equalness. (pp. 204–205)

Elisabeth Eaves (2002) worked as a stripper for a short time, and she offers some interesting views on society's uneasy relationship with sexuality and female bodies.

> Though I went silent about my one-time job, stripping didn't go away. Certain things continued to vex me. One was the collection of facile stereotypes persistently applied to strippers. These ideas seemed so hackneyed as to be barely worth my irritation. Yet they did irritate me, always surprising me out of my wishful thinking when they turned out to be widely and deeply held. To name a few: Strippers are dumb. Abused. Desperate. Amoral. Sexually available. And one stereotype especially bothered me. A professor remarked to me that I had "gotten out" of stripping, while others had not. I had never considered it a job to escape. I thought it shouldn't be assumed that strippers lacked free will, or that they were trapped. I hadn't felt that way. Part of me even thought I might go back some day….
>
> I learned that no one is neutral about female bodies. If they aren't sex objects used to sell every conceivable good, they are political objects, causing bitter debate on how to manage their fecundity. And where not sexual or political, they are imbued with society's ideals and fears, turned into Miss Liberties, Virgin Marys, and Wicked Witches. Everyone has an opinion on what to do about female bodies, and sometimes it feels as if the only people who get in trouble for holding such opinions are young women themselves.
>
> Some of us, though, have to live in them, and we each get by in our own way. (pp. 5–7)

Dorais (2005) offers the thoughts of a male sex worker who laments the stigma attached to sex work, and the common perception of many that prostitutes never enjoy their work.

> It's just as respectable and honourable as any other job. Sharing two solitudes, the client's and the hustler's…it's a human relationship. There are some really endearing people too, like this old, ugly, wrinkled guy who was just so sensitive…He made me cry. I stayed with him the whole night, I just couldn't leave him, even though he only paid me for an hour! It's all the cameras focused on street prostitution, drug addicts, people who steal from clients, that's what gives us a bad image.…And as for me, I actually like sex, I really like it. I like making love as much as possible every day. If I didn't I wouldn't be doing this job. I hope I'll be doing it for a long time. (p. 57)

Making the Case for Decriminalization

Valerie Scott, Peggy Miller, and Ryan Hotchkiss (1987) explain their view as sex workers on why decriminalization of prostitution is necessary.

> Our ideal situation is like anybody else's—that we have control over our work environment, we have control over our prices, we make our own compromises. We know what it's worth to us.…We want the support systems everyone else has. Let our businesses go under the same rules that regular businesses go under. Let our businesses have the support of the medical profession, the legal profession. Let us set professional standards. That's our ideal—from our perspective; not every girl feels the same way. It's great when you can sit at home and get a call and go out. You can go out and not feel like you're about to meet someone in some sort of clandestine affair. You never shake those overtones. You're on the way to a date, you feel good, and you're saying, "This is a clandestine affair," and it kind of shapes you. You want to set the price of what the trade-off is worth to you. You want it also to be sensitive to his

> needs as a person. He's a person. He's not a fucking animal—he's a person. He may just need to be held, he may just need you to act out some fantasy and you don't even touch him....Let us get something set so that we can be better able to give better service. Lots of guys that we see want to talk. You don't want to be so angry because you're the fall guy for society that you go to him and it's like, "You're a fuck. You're getting away with this" and you can't be sensitive. You want an environment where you can be sensitive.
>
> Imagine therapists trying to give good service to someone if they're seeing them on the side because they could be put in jail. (p. 209)

Carol-Lynn Strachan is an Edmonton prostitute who maintains a highly visible public persona as a human rights advocate for prostitutes. Strachan (cited in D'Aliesio, 2005) supports the decriminalization of prostitution because "women are being abused out there. Women are being hurt....Somebody has to do something" (p. A1). Strachan pays a heavy personal price for her public campaigns: she faces public condemnation, family anger, and a crumbling marriage. She is condemned not only because she is a prostitute, but because her views are controversial. In response to the belief of some feminists who hold that no one voluntarily chooses to be a prostitute, and that prostitution always destroys souls, Strachan maintains that not all prostitutes are victims. "I wasn't sexually abused as a child. I came from a very good family. This [prostitution] is something I chose to do. Numerous women have chosen to do this" (p. A1).

This Researcher's Voice

I feel that my understanding of feminist issues and my role as a heterosexual male in a patriarchal hegemony has been immeasurably enhanced by familiarizing myself with a wide range of opinions and theories about the position of women in Western societies. As I write these words in the living room of my Edmonton home, I occasionally glance outside, where the blustery winter weather is an inhospitable -30°C. I watch chickadees, sparrows, and nuthatches flit among the frosty branches of my hedge, feasting on sunflower seeds. My son has just returned from university classes and is warming up with a hot cup of tea and a handful of cookies. My wife is safe and warm in her upstairs office, running her successful and lucrative private business. We are all snugly ensconced in our safe, middle-class lives, far removed from the harsh winter conditions and the dangerous lifestyles that Edmonton's street prostitutes are combating at this precise moment. I think of the prostitutes I have know while working as an adult upgrading instructor. They may be working Edmonton's streets this afternoon, and I worry about their well-being in these tortuous conditions.

My thoughts turn to the 19-year-old woman I introduce in Chapter 1 who was once one of my students. Her story and her voice motivate me today as I navigate the turbulent waters that characterize prostitution discourses. I call this woman to mind because I believe social theorists must never allow their theorizing to get in the way of thinking about the real lives of real people. So, I try not to forget about this one woman who, for me, symbolizes both the pain and the hope that characterize the lives of street prostitutes. I will never know why she chose to speak to me. After all, I'm a man. My male gender is sufficient to condemn me in some feminist circles as an enemy of women. So, I feel especially privileged and honored that this woman chose to tell me her story. Her willingness to speak to me suggests that men can play important roles in social discourses designed to improve the positions of women and sexual minorities in our society.

The woman remains for me a poignant example of the power of voices spoken and voices heard. I conceptualize her as a postmodern subject living in a turbulent and unpredictable world, as a person whom Bell (1994) would describe as a "historical subject constituted by multiple and often conflicting relations" (p. 5). She is not a cliché. She should not, cannot, be reduced to simple, one-dimensional descriptors. Her position as a street prostitute is not identical to, or even similar to, the experiences of the vast majority of sex workers who are employed in a host of other off-street, sex-work venues. She is not merely a victim of patriarchal structures, or a sinner, or a drug-crazed addict, or a product of a broken home, or a thrill seeker. Nor, as some sex-radical feminists would suggest, is she an example of a liberated woman who has wrested power from her patriarchal masters while achieving independence and pride in her newfound liberation as a woman and as a sexual being. Rather, she is a person—a multifaceted, multilayered individual with particular problems, talents, skills, sensitivities, and sensibilities. As a person, she deserves the best that Canadian laws and Canadian society can offer, not the worst. And she deserves our best *today*, not tomorrow, not next year. This is why, in the next section of this chapter (see p. 162), I recommend the decriminalization of prostitution.

Decriminalization is a pragmatic approach to prostitution—an approach which accepts that, at this moment and for the foreseeable future, prostitution is and will remain a reality in our country, and men and women will continue to work as prostitutes. Radical feminists tell us that sex work must be immediately abolished. However, changing our laws to make all forms of sex work illegal will not eliminate prostitution. Rather, prostitution will be pushed further into the dark underbelly of our society. Even Andrea Dworkin (2004), a radical feminist who advocates outlawing all forms of sex work, acknowledges that it would take 300 to 400 years to "create places of safety and education and refuge for prostituted women" even if feminists were to "win a lot of victories…against the so-called sex industry" (p. 144). Dworkin also thinks about the individuals who work today's streets: "The way to look at that three hundred to four hundred years is that one can have an impact on that woman who is on the street corner being sold, hurting…because she has been deemed worthless" (p. 145).

As I discuss earlier in this chapter, many radical feminists believe we live in a patriarchal, heterosexual society in which women are disempowered and debased. These feminists establish and make an impassioned case against the male power agenda, and position men as being inexorably opposed to female emancipation projects. As a result, I feel I must come clean on my role as a male commentator on feminist issues. I am a middle-aged, white, heterosexual man, husband, and father writing and thinking about prostitution and about the possible meanings and relevance of feminist discourses on the daily lives of young, female prostitutes while taking advice and guidance from my gay program supervisor. In some circles, my situation might seem suspect, if not ludicrous. There might be those who wish to attribute a prurient and unsavory component to my work. Andrea Dworkin (1993), for example, asserts that the "people who defend prostitution and pornography want you to feel a kinky little thrill every time you think of something being stuck in a women" (p. 2). Although I am not an avid fan of prostitution, certainly not as it is presently constituted, I do support the right of individuals to participate in sex work if they so choose. This, I suppose, leaves me vulnerable to labels such as kinky. Still, I would be less than honest if I did not acknowledge that the very act of a man writing about prostitution is cause for some to speculate about my motives. Razack (1998) explains that discourses of reform are "often accompanied by a prolonged, fascinated gaze" (p. 362). I believe Razack's observation rings true. I also suggest that the fear of being labeled as some kind of pervert is what prevents many rational, concerned people, including men, from entering into discourses of sexuality. It is my thesis that power is also a product of voices unspoken and voices unheard.

In my view, feminist discourses too often marginalize, denigrate, or ignore a plethora of societal voices. Too often, they ignore the stories and the wisdom of sex workers. They equate the deeds and the motives of some men with the deeds and the motives of all men. They attack the positions of sex-positive feminists, or moderate feminists, as being simply too naïve to be credible. When I ask myself whether I have the right, as a male voice, to speak for or about Canada's prostitutes, I remember the great harm that silence inflicts upon prostitutes. So I want to emphasize, as forcefully as I can, that I have one overarching purpose for my study: to improve the daily lives of Canada's prostitutes, both today and into the future. I am not ideologically driven or gender driven. I am person driven.

As to the question of whether I can speak *for* female prostitutes, the only answer I can offer is a qualified "No." It is my view that the strongest, most legitimate voices concerning prostitution belong to practicing or retired sex workers. Radical feminists oppose my perspective: They believe that prostitutes have been so severely disempowered by patriarchal brainwashing or so impaired by drug abuse that they are unable to comprehend their degradation or to articulate meaningful commentaries.

While I do not purport to speak for prostitutes, I do believe I can speak about prostitutes. I can do this with legitimacy because, although I listen to a multitude of societal discourses on prostitution issues, I strive to return to and to be guided by the wisdom and insights of prostitutes themselves. I also believe I can speak about prostitutes because my feelings, emotions, sensitivities, and ideas are similar to those shared by most people, including prostitutes. I share a core of humanness with all other humans. It is my humanness that gives my voice legitimacy. And it is my grief and deep concern for the wasted and destroyed lives of street prostitutes that bridges the great divide between their lives and mine.

My understanding of the power of grief takes its inspiration from Judith Butler's (2004) ideas on the transformational role of grief in the lives of gay and lesbian people who lose friends and loved ones to AIDS. Butler conceptualizes grief as "the moments in which one undergoes something outside one's control and finds that one is beside oneself, not at one with oneself" (p. 22). She explains:

> [G]rief contains within it the possibility of apprehending the fundamental sociality of embodied life, the ways in which we are from the start, and by virtue of being a bodily being, already given over, beyond ourselves, implicated in lives that are not our own. (p. 22)

Butler suggests that one's act of grieving can produce a new political perspective, "a perspective with which to begin to apprehend the contemporary global situation" (p. 22). Although it is almost impossible for me to comprehend the immensity of the grief suffered by gay and lesbian people during our ongoing AIDS tragedy, Butler's thinking about grief does help me understand the power of emotion as a bridge into the souls of my fellow citizens. I believe the sorrow I experience when reading about the many bodies of murdered prostitutes discovered at the Pickton pig farm in British Columbia, or in rural areas surrounding Edmonton, serves to implicate me, as both a man and a human, in lives that are not my own.

Toward a Solution: Decriminalizing Prostitution

Prostitution has been subject to moral regulation throughout Canada's history. In the 1880s the Toronto police force established a morals division charged with rescuing prostitutes and assisting moral reform movements (Graham, 1999). At that time, prostitutes were believed to lack personal and spiritual direction: They could only be saved by removing them from their depraved environments and placing them in Christian homes. From 1894 to 1896, William Lyon Mackenzie King, who eventually became prime minister of Canada, took nightly strolls in Toronto in search of prostitutes to rescue.

The moral crusades of King's time are echoed in the stance taken by contemporary radical feminists, who argue that prostitutes are socially constrained individuals whose subordination by patriarchal hierarchies renders them incapable of making free, fully informed decisions about their sexuality and coerces them into exchanging sex for protection, safety, or other resources—including their money and their lives (Simmons, 1998). The radical feminist perspective seeks the elimination of prostitution, and advocates the criminalization and punishment of "traffickers, buyers, and organizers of the sex industry" (p. 137). This stance gives radical feminists tremendous influence with the moral regulators of our time. Moral regulation in North America's urban settings is almost always constructed by urban politicians as opposition to pornography, nude dancing, prostitution, and nonheterosexual practices. Urban politicians are sensitive to the positions of "decency activists" who hold that sex businesses are decadent and a threat to family values and church teachings (Sharp, 2003). In their opposition to all forms of sex work, radical feminists are natural partners with the lawmakers and power brokers of the establishment, and with institutions—including families and churches—that condemn prostitution. Collectively, these agencies operate from a powerful, unspoken, censorious, class-based moralism that determines the social and physical environments in which prostitutes must survive. This moralism ignores the fact that many of the approximately 80% of prostitutes who work in off-street venues choose prostitution as a legitimate and even rewarding means of work. At the same time, it imposes enormous costs on the men and women who work as street prostitutes because they have no choice and need money to survive. These men and women pay the price with their safety, their rights, their dignity, and even their lives.

This must stop.

I call for the immediate decriminalization of adult prostitution. I support the recommendation of the Pivot Legal Society of British Columbia (Childs et al., 2006) which argues that "criminal law reform is the first step towards a shift from the status quo, where sex workers are subject to extreme levels of violence and social marginalization, to a society where sex workers are empowered to create safe and dignified working conditions" (p. 9). In Chapter 3 I introduce several sections of the Canadian *Criminal Code*—s. 210, 211, 212(1), 212(3) and 213—which cause grave harm to the lives of Canadian prostitutes. I support Pivot's recommendation that these laws must be repealed. I further support Pivot's recommendation that Canadian society must undertake a rigorous debate on how best to reform other areas of law and policy "to end the violence, discrimination and other human rights violations faced by sex workers" (p. 8) as a necessary preliminary step before introducing decriminalization.

I advocate decriminalization because I believe a decriminalized environment will allow society to adjust its laws, institutions, and biases in favor of improving the lives of prostitutes while also allowing society to identify and resolve a number of the causes of prostitution, and to initiate a number of strategies designed to help prostitutes leave sex work, when and if they choose to do so. Secondly, although I recommend decriminalization, I am not developing arguments in favor of prostitution or against prostitution. My position is quite different from the radical feminist perspective, which holds that any argument in favor of decriminalization is automatically an argument in favor of prostitution, and, by extension, an argument in favor of male sex-right and violences against women.

I support Dr. John Lowman's submission (2006) to the 2006 federal Subcommittee on Solicitation Laws. Lowman suggests that the "prohibition of prostitution creates more problems than it solves" (p. 9). He favors decriminalization for the following reasons:

> Survival sex is not the same as prostitution where sex workers clearly do exercise choice....Many sex workers, some "survival sex workers" included...reject the notion that they are "victims" who need saving from themselves....Prohibitionist [radical feminist] images of prostitution emphasize sexual slavery and survival sex; sex workers who do not subscribe to the "victim paradigm" are written off as being in denial....Some commentators...have argued that we cannot tolerate adult prostitution because it will encourage children and youth to prostitute....This kind of logic applied to prostitution puts children and youth at risk by creating a largely uncontrolled illicit prostitution marketplace into which they can easily disappear. (pp. 9–10)

Prostitutes' Rights, Workers' Rights

In Chapter 6, I present a case study of same-sex marriage advocacy in Canada, and recommend that it serve as a model for social agency. The same-sex marriage case study clearly illustrates that decriminalizing homosexuality was a defining and crucial first step for gays and lesbians in laying claim to the legal rights and marriage rights enjoyed by other Canadians. Criminalization inevitably fosters social condemnation and derision. Because prostitutes are criminalized, they often are denied legal rights that other Canadians accept as their due as Canadian citizens. One right they are denied is the right to unionize. The Pivot Legal Society of British Columbia (Childs et al., 2006), which recommends the decriminalization of prostitution in Canada, notes that

> the widespread and systemic violations experienced by sex workers in Canada must be addressed. Sex workers are routinely denied the rights and protections accorded to other workers and, as a result, are forced to live and work in dangerous and demeaning conditions. In many instances, sex workers are not entitled to avail themselves of these legal protections because of their source of income. In other cases, they are entitled to these rights and protections, but face practical barriers as a result of pervasive stigmatization and prejudice. (p. 222)

The decriminalization of prostitution recognizes the rights of prostitutes, including the right to work. It positions sex work as legitimate work and sex workers as citizens who are entitled to the same rights as other Canadians. The acknowledgement of sex work as work is supported by sociologists such as Wendy Chapkis (cited in Abraham, 1997), who believes that prostitution is "better understood as work than as inevitably a form of sexual violence" (p. 2). Chapkis' perspective is supported by Kantola and Squires (2002), who explain that the anti-prostitution discourse is often "paternalistic" in that it advocates "a rigid sexual morality under the guise of protecting women" (p. 12). They suggest that the anti-prostitution discourse is "limited to forced prostitution. In this process, the sex worker, the voluntary prostitute is ignored" (p. 12). Kantola and Squires explain that this discourse has the effect of creating a

Madonna/whore binary. "The Madonna is the forced prostitute, the innocent victim, while the voluntary prostitute is the whore, 'she deserves what she gets' " (p. 12).

If Canada decriminalizes prostitution, the human rights of all prostitutes, whether they work in forced or voluntary situations, will be protected. Chapkis (cited in Abraham, 1997) supports this position. She argues for the decriminalization of prostitution because criminalization "exacerbates prostitutes' problems by isolating them from the law and leaving them vulnerable to abusive pimps and johns [by making] the police an extra obstacle, another threat" (p. 2). I agree with Chapkis' concern about the effects of criminalization. One example which illustrates how prostitutes may be isolated from the protection of the law is evident in Edmonton, where in April 2006 the city's new police chief, Michael J. Boyd, released an action plan entitled *Edmonton Police Service 100-Day Plan*. The plan notes that, during a consultation process, the new chief "was asked to put more cars and police members into high trouble spots to deal with prostitution problems on 118th Avenue and surrounding communities" (p. 5). The chief responded in his 100-day plan by creating a Community Safety Initiative, which increased police numbers in targeted areas in order to "address specific, targeted community problems in a highly visible and proactive manner" (p. 5). In the plan, the chief proudly proclaims that prostitutes will be driven from 118th Avenue. He gives no consideration to the welfare of these individuals, who may be forced into dark, industrial landscapes where they become easy prey for predators. That these individuals will become victims of violence is inevitable because, as Razack (1998) explains, "we care less about bodies in degenerate spaces and often define out of existence the violence enacted on those bodies....There are simply designated bodies and spaces where so called contractual violence can happen with impunity" (p. 358).

Pierre Bourdieu, as I discuss in Chapter 4, speaks of the gentle, subtle, symbolic violence that works to legitimate hegemonic structures. Police campaigns against street prostitutes and johns have only one goal: solidifying and reifying police power in the public eye (Brock, 1998, p. 95). If this were not the case, police-sponsored anti-prostitution campaigns would target all forms of prostitution, not simply prostitutes for whom sex is survival. The fact is that "although the off-street sex trade likely comprises more than 80 percent of Canada's prostitution, it accounts for less than five percent of criminal convictions in Canada for prostitution-related offences, in contrast to the street trade, which accounts for more than 95 percent of prostitution related criminal convictions, but less than 20 percent of the business" (Childs et al., 2006, p. 17). Why do Canadians condone police activities that target and persecute the weakest, most vulnerable members of our society?

Canadian police forces have a vested power interest in maintaining Canada's existing legal sanctions against street prostitutes. In addition, because prostitution is criminalized, the police are conditioned to think of prostitutes as second-class citizens who are less human and less deserving of police protection than other Canadians. Lakeman, Lee, and Jay (2004) offer the following example of police disdain for prostitutes. In February 2002, the Vancouver police received a report about a man who was raping and murdering prostitutes. The public was finally notified in March 2003. The police justified this delay by explaining that "they 'didn't think he [the man] was a danger because he *limited his attacks to prostitutes*' " [emphasis added] (p. 246).

Police disdain for prostitutes is one of many reasons why prostitutes are forced to accept that, in the eyes of society, they are worthless. Lee (2004), a former sex worker, cautions that "we need to fight the system of prostitution…without shaming the women" (p. 63). Although I recommend decriminalization, I agree with Lakeman, Lee, and Jay (2004), who warn that decriminalization will not assure prostitutes' "dignity, body integrity or human right to a life without violence and a reasonable standard of living" (p. 222). However, I also note Clarke's (2004) dismay when she states that during her "twenty-some years of work" as a feminist political activist, feminists "seem to have made zero or negative progress in challenging or restraining the men who buy and sell, rent and lease, women and girls….The twin industries of pornography and prostitution have boomed worldwide" (p. 153). It is my thesis that, as Canadians, we must put aside our individual biases and prejudices about sex work and begin a debate on how to protect those men and women who are, or shortly will become, sex workers. I believe decriminalization is the best approach to adopt as a short-term strategy for improving the lives of today's sex workers.

Implications for Public Pedagogy

A public pedagogy designed to advocate for the rights of prostitutes and sexual minorities must take into account the radically opposing views that feminism has to offer. As a male, I was initially offended by the anti-male rhetoric that characterizes so much of radical feminism. However, upon reflection, I realized that I had a responsibility to myself, to the women in my life, and to the men and women I discuss in this thesis to reflect critically upon those radical feminist perspectives that resonate with my history and my contemporary thinking and practices. I am a better person today because of the work of feminists, and my life is vastly enriched by women who have been freed from the constraints of hegemonic patriarchy. But the work continues, and public pedagogies advancing the causes of sexual minorities must always strive to be inclusive and people centered.

1. Public pedagogy ought to always be open to and welcome the insight and the energy that new or opposing or uncomfortable ideas offer to contemporary discourses. Public pedagogy ought not to be so rigid that it cannot evolve and embrace more life-affirming insights and truths.

2. Public pedagogy ought to resist the views of some radical feminists who suggest that men are hard-wired by patriarchy to be incapable of accepting or celebrating the equality of women.
3. Public pedagogy should never ignore the voices of those it proposes to help. Some radical feminists hold that prostitutes are incapable of speaking for themselves. I hope the prostitutes' voices I offer in this chapter will serve to remind us that prostitution—like all matters related to sexuality—is complex, with many valid although differing perspectives. Ideological or moral perspectives should not trump or ignore the voices of those who need our help.
4. Public pedagogy ought to interrogate and resist anti-sex discourses that hurt the daily lives of prostitutes.
5. Public pedagogy ought to interrogate and resist anti-male discourses that hurt the daily lives of prostitutes.
6. Public pedagogy ought to interrogate and resist anti-heterosexual discourses that hurt the lives of prostitutes.
7. Public pedagogy ought to interrogate and resist the hypocrisy inherent in society's treatment of little girls as sex objects for advertising campaigns, while condemning individuals who choose careers as sex workers.

8. Public pedagogy ought to interrogate and resist the racism and economic exploitation that results in boys and girls being forced into survival sex.
9. Public pedagogy ought to interrogate and resist campaigns against street prostitution that conveniently ignore the reality that 80% of prostitution exists off-street. Public pedagogy ought to take a leadership role in educating the public about the multidimensional nature of prostitution.
10. Public pedagogy ought to interrogate and resist the reality that angry anti-prostitution voices, including those of feminists, hurt prostitutes in many ways. These voices negatively affect the self-esteem of prostitutes. At the same time, they motivate sick and twisted members of society to attack and even murder prostitutes. And they convince ill-informed politicians to pass damaging anti-prostitution legislation.

CHAPTER 6: SAME-SEX MARRIAGE – A PUBLIC PEDAGOGY CASE STUDY

A Matter of Rights

> If you walk a mile in the shoes of the reasonable gay or lesbian person…
>
> You know that the history of same-sex relationships is one of erasure, closeting and fear so that the stories of relationships between persons of the same sex—let alone marriages—are often hidden in history.
>
> You know that heterosexuality and marriages are celebrated as an ideal—And the mantle in almost every house is full of joyful wedding pictures.
>
> If you walk in our shoes, you know that gay teenagers are three times more likely to commit suicide than their straight counterparts because they think they will never have a normal life…
>
> You know that any two 18 year olds who have known each other only a day can get married, if they are heterosexual.
>
> You know that any two 81 year olds who have no hope of procreating can get married, if they are heterosexual.
>
> If you walk in our shoes, you know that you love your spouse and want to spend your life with her, have kids, live together for richer or poorer, in sickness and in health…
>
> You know that you are capable of marriage, and that your love is worthy of the state sanction that is civil marriage.
>
> This is the context of the claim. This is the context in which gays and lesbians live our lives. (Radbord, 2005, pp. 113–114; ellipsis as per the original)

In this chapter I explore the steps and processes through which gay and lesbian Canadians asserted their right to civil marriage. I contend that the same-sex marriage campaign is an excellent example of public pedagogy working as an emancipatory tool. As I discuss more fully in Chapter 7, it is my contention that, in Canada, the gay and lesbian communities serve as a powerful collective intellectual, a term Bourdieu uses to describe social advocacy groups that operate at the level of ideas. The collective intellectual is a group of public intellectuals who join forces in the face of powerful opposition. In the case of same-sex marriage advocacy, the gay and lesbian collective intellectual placed itself in direct opposition to other powerful public pedagogies, including churches, conservative organizations, traditional-family lobbyists, community organizations, and political associations.

Over the past decades, lesbian and gay Canadians have successfully laid claim to the human and civil rights that are every citizen's due. In the process, they engineered the social and legislative changes needed to protect and uphold these rights. The success of the gay and lesbian collective intellectual in changing social structures and norms holds important lessons about public pedagogy and the dynamics of social change. I chose same-sex marriage as a case study in order to determine precisely what kind of public pedagogy model gay and lesbian Canadians used to win their rights. The lessons learned from their success can be applied to other situations in which the issue of rights is central to the debate—including the plight of Canada's street prostitutes.

Historically, both homosexuals and prostitutes have been dismissed as citizens, reviled, and treated with disdain. Both groups have been assaulted by Canada's civil, judicial, and religious institutions. For many Canadians, the issue of same-sex relationships and marriage challenges deep-seated religious beliefs. The morality and ethics of prostitution are no less challenging and controversial. But in legalizing same-sex marriage, Canadians demonstrated a profound commitment to human rights. This commitment superseded rants from church pulpits about the evils of homosexuality and doomsday warnings that society would crumble. It superseded tradition, religious ideology, fear of change, and apprehension about the unknown. In resolving the issue of same-sex marriage, the key issue for the majority of Canadians—whether or not they approved of homosexuality—was that human rights must be respected.

To a large extent, legalizing same-sex marriage has been a moral and political issue. The debate about decriminalizing prostitution also centers on morals and politics. The issues surrounding street prostitution are fundamentally issues of human dignity and human rights. The closure of the same-sex marriage debate in favor of human rights offers hope that Canadians can find a way to respect the dignity and rights of other sexual minorities, including street prostitutes.

Timeline[1]

In July 2005, Canada became the fourth country in the world to legalize same sex marriage. This milestone was reached after several decades of sustained, concerted social activism by individuals, governments, religious groups, and community organizations committed to civil rights. Such activism could only be undertaken once homosexuality itself was decriminalized: This was not the case until Canada's *Criminal Code* was amended in 1969. Today, even though homosexuals now have the right to marry, the struggle continues to gain full social and constitutional equality as persons, and legal recognition of their rights as parents. This will be the final step in what Netherlands law professor Kees Waaldijk (2004) describes as the "standard sequence" through which nations achieve legislative recognition of homosexuality.

Waaldijk's standard sequence includes three stages, each of which is a precursor and a stimulant for the next: decriminalization, introduction of anti-discriminatory legislation, and finally, legislation recognizing same-sex partnership and parenting (Wintemute, 2004; Waaldijk, 2004). As shown in Table 3, Canada's legislative recognition of homosexuality has progressed through these three stages, beginning with the decriminalization of homosexuality in 1969, through the introduction of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* in 1982, and most recently, in 2005, to the enactment of the *Civil Marriage Act*, which redefines marriage as "the lawful union of two people to the exclusion of all others." Robert Wintemute, professor of Human Rights Law at the University of London, notes that the order in which litigants presented issues to Canada's Supreme Court did not strictly follow Waaldijk's standard sequence. Nonetheless, Waaldijk's steps correlate with the difficulty Canadian courts faced in applying the *Charter* to protect gay rights: "Direct discrimination in the criminal law is generally easier [to address] than direct discrimination against LGB [lesbian, gay and bisexual] individuals in employment and other areas, which is in turn easier than direct discrimination against same-sex couples and parents" (Wintemute, 2004, p. 1148).

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[1] All tables and figures in this chapter were created by the author based on the cited data sources. Since much of the data in the chapter was drawn from online sources, page references are sometimes not provided even when direct quotations are used. Complete Internet addresses for online data sources are included in the reference list.

Table 3: Same-sex rights in Canada timeline. (Sources used to develop this table include Bonoguore, 2006; CBC News: In Depth, 2007; Government of Canada, 1982 & n.d.; Naumetz, 2005; Radbord, 2005; Valpy, 2005; and Wintemute, 2004.)

1969	Canada decriminalizes same-sex sexual activity. The age of consent for same-sex sexual activity is 21.
1974	*Re North and Matheson* raises the question of equal access to civil marriage. The claim fails. A second claim is unsuccessful at trial in 1993. A third wave of cases begins in 2000 and 2001.
1977	Quebec becomes the first Canadian jurisdiction to pass gay rights civil law when it includes sexual orientation in its *Human Rights Code*.
1979	The annual report of the Canadian Human Rights Commission includes a recommendation to add sexual orientation to the *Canadian Human Rights Act*.
January 20, 1981	A parliamentary committee rejects MP Svend Robinson's proposed amendment to include sexual orientation in the proposed *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* by a vote of 22 to 2.
April 17, 1982	The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* comes into force as part of the *Constitution Act, 1982*. The *Charter* "is founded on the rule of law and entrenches in the Constitution of Canada the rights and freedoms Canadians believe are necessary in a free and democratic society" (Government of Canada, n.d.). These rights and freedoms include the freedom of expression and association, the right to vote,

	and the right to life, liberty and security of the person. Provincial and territorial governments are given three years to bring their laws into line with Section 15(1) of the *Charter*, which enshrines equality rights and prohibits discrimination on the basis of "race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability."
April 17, 1985	Section 15(1) of the *Charter* comes into force. Prior to this date, employment discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation was legal in 12 of then 13 Canadian jurisdictions. Unmarried same-sex couples were not recognized in any case law or legislation. "Once section 15(1) came into force, unmarried same-sex couples began to invoke it, as well as federal and provincial anti-discrimination legislation, in challenging their exclusion from employment, social security, and other benefits made available to unmarried opposite-sex couples" (Wintemute, 2004, p. 1153).
October 1985	The *Equality For All* report released by the Parliamentary Committee on Equality Rights recommends that the *Canadian Human Rights Act* should be amended to prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation.
1987	Under the *Criminal Code*, the age of consent for all sexual activity except anal intercourse between parties who are not husband and wife is 14. The age of consent for anal intercourse is 18.
1988	Svend Robinson becomes the first Member of Parliament to go public about being gay.
1992	Litigation under the *Charter* begins to play a role in filling gaps in the legislative protection of lesbian, gay, and bisexual Canadians. *In Douglas v. R.*, Michelle Douglas, a lesbian woman, sues the Canadian Armed Forces over her dismissal. On the day her trial is to begin, the armed forces agree to settle. The Federal Court judgment declares that Ms. Douglas' rights were violated and that Canadian Armed Forces policies regarding the service of homosexuals contravene the *Charter*.
1993	*Canada (A.G.) v. Mossop* is the first case in which unmarried same-sex couples challenge their exclusion from employment, social security, and other benefits available to opposite-sex couples. Brian Mossop is a federal government employee who is denied bereavement leave when his male partner's father dies, although he would have received leave had his partner been female, whether or not they had been married. His complaint to the Canadian Human Rights Commission rests on the premise that he has suffered discrimination based on "family status." Although two of the judges find the term family status broad enough to include same-sex couples, the Supreme Court rules that because Parliament did not add sexual

	orientation to the *Canadian Human Rights Act* in 1983, when it added family status, homosexual couples cannot constitute a family for the purposes of the act. However, the Court also notes that the ruling might have been different had section 15 of the Charter been argued.
1995	In *Egan v. Canada*, two gay men sue Ottawa for the right to claim a spousal pension under the *Old Age Security Act* by challenging the constitutionality of the definition of "spouse." Although they lose their case, the Supreme Court rules unanimously that sexual orientation is covered under Section 15 of the *Charter*. Wintemute explains that because same-sex sexual activity had already been established as being lawful, "the Court in Egan was able to consider sexual orientation discrimination immediately as an issue of 'equality' under section 15(1) of the *Charter*, rather than initially as one of 'liberty' or 'privacy' "(p. 1149).
1996	Sexual orientation is added to the *Canadian Human Rights Act*, but the question remains whether all Canadian legislatures must include sexual orientation in their anti-discrimination legislation. Alberta, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and the Northwest Territories do not include this provision.
1998	Sexual orientation is enshrined as grounds for protection under the *Charter* in the wake of the decision in *Vriend v. Alberta*. Delwin Vriend, an openly gay educator at King's University College, is dismissed on the pretext that his sexual orientation violates the college's religious policy. He is unable to challenge his dismissal because Alberta has not included sexual orientation in its *Human Rights, Citizenship and Multiculturalism Act*. The Supreme Court rules that Alberta's omission violates the *Charter*: "Because the case concerned the omission in the legislation, not the employer's action, the fact that the employer was a 'private fundamentalist Christian college' was not an issue before the Court" (Wintemute, p. 1151). To date, sexual orientation has not been written into Alberta's *Human Rights, Citizenship and Multiculturalism Act*. However, in April 2, 1998, the Government of Alberta agreed to "read-in" sexual orientation as protected grounds (Alberta Human Rights and Citizenship Commission, 2007).
1999	In *M. v. H.*, M. seeks financial support from H., her same-sex partner of 10 years, challenging the definition of "spouse" in Ontario's *Family Law Act*. The Supreme Court finds an Ontario statute that excludes same-sex couples from the definition of spouse to be discriminatory. Wintemute notes that, since 1999, "the rights and obligations of unmarried same-sex and opposite-sex couples have been equalized in hundreds of federal, provincial, and territorial statutes" (p. 1156).

April 11, 2000	The Canadian government passes Bill C-23, the *Modernization of Benefits and Obligations Act*, which gives same-sex couples the same social and tax benefits as heterosexual couples in common-law relationships. The act defines marriage as "the lawful union of one man and one woman to the exclusion of all others."
January 14, 2001	Ontario law permits valid civil marriages via the ancient Christian tradition of publishing marriage banns; no marriage licence is required (Radbord, 2005; Catholic University of America, 2001). Having read the marriage banns for three consecutive weeks prior, Reverend Brent Hawkes of Toronto's Metropolitan Community Church marries two same-sex couples in "the first legally recognized marriages between two persons of the same sex in modern times" (Radbord, p. 99). The Government of Ontario refuses to recognize the marriages because of the marriage definition in Bill C-23.
October 2, 2001	In *EGALE Canada Inc. v. Canada (A. G.)*, the Supreme Court of British Columbia rules that excluding same-sex couples from civil marriage contravenes section 15(1) of the *Charter*, but is justifiable under section 1 because same-sex couples cannot procreate. The decision is reversed on appeal on May 1, 2003, and B.C. orders the issuance of civil marriage licences to same-sex couples after a suspension period to allow for the adjustment of legislation.
May 10, 2002	In *Marc Hall v. Durham Catholic School Board*, an Ontario Superior Court rules that gay student Marc Hall has the right to take his boyfriend to the high school prom.
September 6, 2002	In *Hendricks v. Quebec*, a Quebec court finds an unjustifiable violation of section 15(1) because, unlike opposite-sex couples, Mr. Hendricks and Mr. LeBoeuf do not have the right to marry each other.
June 10, 2003	In *Halpern v. Canada (A. G.)*, an Ontario court rules that violation of section 15(1) cannot be justified under section 1. The decision is upheld on appeal, and the court orders the immediate issuance of civil marriage licences to same-sex couples: Toronto City Hall issues 89 such licences by June 13, 2003. The court also rejects the "promotion of unassisted procreation" justification, and dismisses as speculative "any threat to the institution of marriage." It proposes that "the only possible remedy" is the reformulation of Canada's common-law definition of marriage (Wintemute, p. 1165). Wintemute describes this decision as politically brilliant: "One of the main reasons why many heterosexual individuals oppose equal access to civil marriage for same-sex couples is very simply 'fear of the unknown.'…[T]he fear of many opponents dissipates quickly once married same-sex couples become a reality, and it is clear that their marriages do not harm anyone" (p. 1166).

June 17, 2003	Prime Minister Jean Chrétien issues his "Statement of the Prime Minister on Same-Sex Unions," which announces that the federal government will introduce legislation that complies with the judgment of 10 of 11 judges in the B.C., Ontario, and Quebec cases, as well as with recommendations of the Law Commission of Canada and the Canadian Human Rights Commission.
July 17, 2003	A draft bill that defines "marriage for civil purposes" as the "lawful union of two persons to the exclusion of all others" is sent to the Supreme Court of Canada for review (CBC, 2007b).
December 9, 2004	The Supreme Court rules that the Canadian government's proposed legislation legalizing same-sex marriage is constitutional, and that access to civil marriage is a fundamental right that flows from the equality guarantee of the *Charter*. The Court also rules that the proposed bill respects the right to freedom of religion, as guaranteed by the *Charter*. Religious officials cannot be forced to perform marriages that are contrary to their beliefs.
February 1, 2005	Bill C-38, the *Civil Marriage Act*, is introduced in the House of Commons. The bill redefines marriage as "the lawful union of two people to the exclusion of all others." It also states that officials of religious groups are free to refuse to perform marriages that are not in accordance with their religious beliefs.
June 28, 2005	Bill C-38 passes final reading, with a 158–133 vote.
July 19, 2005	Bill C-38 receives final approval in the Senate, with a 47–21 vote. With royal assent, Canada joins Spain, the Netherlands, and Belgium in legalizing same-sex marriage.
June 2, 2006	Conservative Prime Minister Stephen Harper announces that the House will vote on whether the year-old same-sex bill should be repealed.
December 7, 2006	The House votes down the bid to reinstate the traditional meaning of marriage by 175–123.

The Debate

The question of equal access to civil marriage was first raised in the courts in 1974, in *Re North and Matheson* (Wintemute, 2004). A quarter-century later, awareness about the issue was heightened with three *Charter* cases challenging access to marriage: *EGALE Canada Inc. v. Canada* (2001) in

Vancouver, *Halpern v. Canada* (2002) in Toronto and *Hendricks v. Quebec* (2002) in Montreal (Wintemute, 2004). On June 17, 2003, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien announced that the federal government would introduce legislation to permit same-sex couples to marry (Canadians for Equal Marriage, n.d.). In the wake of this announcement, the issue of same-sex marriage dominated Canadian headlines, divided public opinion, and posed difficult questions about Canadian values and social structures. Canadians on both sides of the issue engaged in the debate. Supporters of same-sex marriage saw the issue as one of civil rights. Opponents feared that allowing same-sex marriage would cause social breakdown.

Although support for same-sex marriage has grown since the *Civil Marriage Act* came into force in 2005, public opinion is still deeply divided. As Wintemute (2004) notes, "full social equality will require education and a substantial change in attitudes among the heterosexual majority. Its attainment might be defined as the day when two men or two women will be able to kiss and hold hands in public anywhere in Canada, without fearing a violent reaction from passersby" (p. 1180).

Arguments Against

Much opposition to Canada's same-sex marriage bill came from established churches and from conservative religion-oriented lobbying groups, think tanks, and grassroots organizations. Media coverage reported on the positions taken by organizations such as Focus on the Family Canada, the

Interfaith Committee on Traditional Marriage, the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, the Ontario Conference of Catholic Bishops, the 28,000-member Hutterian Brethren Church of Canada, the Catholic Civil Rights League, the Man and Woman Union, the Canada Family Action Coalition, and others. Edmonton lawyer Connie Mah (2005) summarizes the crux of the argument put forward by these and other opponents of same-sex marriage:

> The same-sex marriage debate has spurred conservative and religious groups to argue that the so-called traditional or historical view of marriage should prevail and continue as the union of one man and one woman. Some argue there should be no same-sex marriages at all; some argue that same-sex unions may be permissible but object to using the term same-sex marriage. Many of these arguments rest on the notion of preserving the sanctity of marriage which is claimed to be under threat of erosion.

On November 9, 2006, 51 Canadian churches and religious communities signed a "Declaration on Marriage," which holds that "redefining marriage as being 'between two persons' eclipses the essence and full purpose of marriage," loses the "inner connection between marriage, the complementarity of the sexes, procreation and the raising of children" and "fails to promote the common good of society." The declaration states that protecting the institution of marriage as "the union of one man and one woman…is vitally important for the stability and security of our country and its children." Signatories of the declaration believe the definition of marriage to be age-old and immutable: In fact, throughout history, the institution of marriage has changed to reflect societal attitudes (Mah, 2005; Billingsley, 2005).

Some opponents of same-sex marriage, including Edmonton MP David Kilgour, fear that legalizing same-sex marriage will spark constitutional challenges from groups that claim polygamy is a right (Harvey & Authier, 2005). Some fear that unless the traditional definition of marriage is preserved, Canada may be forced to legalize bigamy, polygamy, incest, or other variations of traditional marriage; the fact is that such variations are prohibited by the *Criminal Code*. Some same-sex marriage opponents suggest that same-sex unions will diminish the values associated with traditional marriage. University of Alberta law professor Barbara Billingsley (2005) notes that "this argument is discriminatory because it is status-based. The premise of the argument is that opposite-sex marriage is somehow better than same-sex marriage. This premise…has no place in determining how marriage should be defined as a legal construct, particularly in a country committed to the ideals of equality and freedom of religion" (p. A19).

Opponents of same-sex marriage have been labelled, by some, as homophobic. Although many opponents claim that they do not object to homosexuals as individuals, the hostility of the arguments put forward against same-sex marriage suggests latent or internalized homophobia or worse. Calgary Catholic Bishop Frederick Henry's writings against same-sex marriage are among the most extreme and vitriolic. As he himself acknowledges, Henry's opposition is founded in the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, which holds that tradition based on "Sacred Scripture…presents homosexual acts as acts of grave depravity," which are "intrinsically disordered," "contrary to the natural law," "do not proceed from a genuine affective," and "under no circumstances" can be approved. In an open letter published in January 2005, Henry maintains that the principal objective in seeking same-sex marriage is not about equality rights, but rather, "that the goal is to acquire a powerful psychological weapon to change society's rejection of homosexual activity and lifestyle into gradual, even if reluctant, acceptance." Noting that "homosexuality, adultery, prostitution and pornography undermine the foundations of the family, the basis of society," Henry calls on the state to "use its coercive power" to curtail these evils "in the interests of the common good," and he invites all citizens to engage in the debate.

Henry's views are echoed by other church leaders. In an open letter printed in *The Globe and Mail* on January 19, 2005, Cardinal Aloysius Ambrozic writes that "the conjugal partnership of a man and a woman is the beginning and basis of society," and that "tampering with marriage and the family poses significant social risks" (p. A17). Ambrozic maintains that since "the law is a teacher," legalizing same-sex marriage "will be teaching that homosexual activity and heterosexual activity are morally equivalent," and that "public schools will be required to provide sex education in that light"

(p. A17). *The Globe and Mail* for January 21, 2005, quotes Marc Cardinal Ouellet as saying that same-sex marriage "could bring in its wake bitter and unpredictable demographic, social, cultural and religious consequences" (Harvey & Authier, p. A5).

Both Protestants and Catholics opposed same-sex marriage. At its 2003 Assembly, the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec (BCOQ, 2004) passed a resolution that affirms "the dignity and value of all persons regardless of sexual orientation," but defines marriage as a union "between one man and one woman" and maintains that "sexual intercourse is to be confined to one man and one woman in marriage." The BCOQ (2004) reiterated these beliefs at its 2004 Assembly, further resolving to "continue to oppose all efforts by any court or legislative body to…legalize same-sex marriage," and announcing that any Baptist who officiates at a same-sex marriage ceremony will be "subject to disciplinary review."

Arguments In Support

Support for same sex-marriage came from a wide range of sectors, including some of Canada's established churches (or factions within these churches); educators and civil rights groups such as the gay-rights group EGALE [Equality for Gays and Lesbians Everywhere] Canada, the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, and the Centre for Social Justice; trade unions and labour organizations, including the Canadian Auto Workers, the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, the Canadian Union of Public Employees, the

Telecommunications Workers Union, the three-million-member Canadian Labour Congress, and the Alberta, British Columbia, Ontario, and Saskatchewan federations of labour. These groups are among the 150+ individuals and organizations listed as same-sex marriage supporters in a March 2005 advertisement placed in the Parliament Hill newspaper, *The Hill Times*, by the Canadians for Equal Marriage coalition. The advertisement makes the following case for same-sex marriage:

> Canadians from all walks of life support justice and fairness.
>
> Excluding same-sex couples from civil marriage denies them full citizenship. It suggests they are not equally deserving of protection, respect and consideration. Excluding same-sex couples from civil marriage violates Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms.
>
> The Charter symbolizes Canadian values like equality, fairness and mutual respect. It protects all Canadians. It protects both religious freedom and freedom from discrimination. (Canadians for Equal Marriage, 2005)

Trade Unions

Canada's trade unions and labour federations, many of whom are signatories to the Canadians for Equal Marriage advertisement, were among the earliest supporters of same-sex marriage rights. In 1980, the Canadian Labour Congress adopted a policy opposing discrimination based on sexual orientation. In 1986 and 1990, the congress passed resolutions "to lobby for legislative change in human rights laws in all jurisdictions, to develop a policy on lesbian and gay rights, to make same-sex benefits a collective bargaining priority and to reaffirm labour's opposition to homophobia in all areas" (Canadian Labour Congress, 2003). In April 2003, it issued a statement urging the Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs "to do the right thing, the socially and legally responsible thing, and recommend to Parliament the amendment of Canada's laws to allow lesbian and gay couples access to civil marriage."

The Canadian Auto Workers Union adopted its Pride Policy Statement at its 2003 convention. The statement describes the union's fight for same-sex benefits and its efforts to send a message to employers, legislators, union members, and the public. These efforts included the launch of the national newsletter, *Pride in Print*; a visibility campaign that included the distribution of flags, posters, T-shirts, and pins demonstrating support for LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered) members; conferences, education programs, and workshops on confronting homophobia; the creation of pride committees in local union caucuses across the country; and working "with other unions and community groups that offer support, education, and workplace information on LGBT issues" (p. 1). The statement calls on the government to amend the *Criminal Code* to include hate crimes against the LGBT community, acknowledge the reality of gay and lesbian families, and pass legislation allowing same-sex marriage. It also proposes continued social activism through education, the creation of safe workplaces, bargaining to include same-sex benefits in collective agreements, increasing the representation of

LGBT members in union activities, and campaigning for legal changes "to push for full equality of LGBT members of our society" (p. 3).

The Education Sector

Same-sex marriage supporters from the education sector included the Canadian Federation of Students, the Elementary Teachers' Federation of Ontario, the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation, and the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT). In the February 2005 edition of the association newsletter, CAUT president Loretta Czernis writes that "discrimination can never be morally justified....[L]esbian and gay people are entitled to equal civil marriage....This is a basic human rights issue." Czernis dismisses the suggestion that same-sex marriage will infringe on Canadians' freedom of religion, noting that "churches already exercise their right to deny marriage ceremonies to people. The Catholic Church does not marry people who have been divorced, or people who are not Catholic." She also dismisses the notion that same-sex marriage will destroy families:

> "Pro-family" groups and cultural experts across the nation and around the world warn that redefining marriage will have profound, far-reaching and drastic effects on the family. They say this is a decision that shouldn't be rushed through Parliament or foisted on people. They say Canada's children will pay a devastating price. Such thinking derives from fears around changes that have already taken place in the modern western family structure. The "happy" nuclear family they imagine can only be found on television. We know the divorce rate stands currently at about 38 per cent. Same-sex marriages may very well help to lower divorce statistics. (Czernis, 2005)

The Religion Sector

Religious groups who signed their support to the Canadians for Equal Marriage advertisement included the Muslim Canadian Congress, the Leadership Conference of Secular Humanistic Jews, the United Church of Canada, and the World Sikh Organization. The United Church, Canada's second-largest religious body (after Roman Catholics) and largest Protestant denomination, formally approved same-sex marriage at its 37th General Council in 2000 and "committed itself to work for the civil recognition of same-sex partnerships" (United Church of Canada, 2005). The United Church's 2005 publication on marriage explains that the civil recognition of same-sex marriages is "about justice, according same-sex couples the same rights, responsibilities and protections as any other couple in our society,…[and] ensuring that all people are treated with fairness, dignity and respect" (p. 12). In a news release issued on January 18, 2005, the World Sikh Organization declared the issue of same-sex marriages to be "a human rights issue flowing from the interpretation of the Canadian Constitution and Charter of Rights and Freedoms"; it called on all Canadians to insist that elected politicians uphold the *Charter*, which it terms "one of the best human rights legislations in the world." At an Ottawa press conference on February 1, 2005, Muslim Canadian Congress president Rizwana Jafri noted that Muslim Canadians have relied on the *Charter* to fight for their right to be treated as equal citizens. She called on Muslims to "stand up in solidarity" with Canada's gays and lesbians and support the proposed same-sex marriage legislation even though many Muslims do not condone homosexuality. Ms. Jafri added the following:

> This legislation is not about religion; it is about fundamental and universal human rights that are a guarantee that all Canadians, irrespective of their religious or ethnic background, feel part of the same family. While, within this family, we may agree to disagree we must respect each other and treat others with dignity that is a hallmark of civil society.

Religious Divisions

Although many of Canada's established churches took official positions against same-sex marriage, public opinion polls (see the section that begins on p. 193) show that the "official voice" of Canada's churches does not necessarily reflect all subgroups, nor the opinions of individual members of church congregations. Opinions were divided within church ranks, and even within faith communities, dissenting voices struggled to be heard. While Muslim groups such as the B.C. Muslim Association, the Islamic Supreme Council of Canada, and the Islamic Shiite Supreme Council in Canada signed an interfaith declaration opposing same-sex marriage (Declaration on Marriage, 2006), the Muslim Canadian Congress (2005) issued a news release in support. While Protestant churches such as the Anglican Catholic Church of Canada, the Baptist General Conference of Canada and the Lutheran Church – Canada signed the anti-same-sex-marriage declaration (Declaration on Marriage, 2006), the United Church spoke out in support (Canadians for Equal

Marriage, 2005). The World Sikh Congress (2005) spoke out in support of same-sex marriage in spite of an edict—issued by Joginder Singh Vedanti, Sikhism's highest spiritual authority—prohibiting same-sex marriage in Sikh temples (Walia, 2005).

Within the Catholic community, although the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops (2005) strongly opposed same-sex marriage, institutions such as the 22,000-member Canadian Religious Conference (CRC), an umbrella body of 230 Catholic religious orders established in 1954, spoke out against bigotry and hatred. In its 2006 letter to Catholic bishops, the CRC expressed regret about the Catholic Church's "unwelcoming attitude towards homosexuals" and "its fear of dialogue with…marginalized people" (p. 6), and hope that the Church would "express more compassion and openness vis-à-vis people's suffering, leaving no one marginalized or excluded" (p. 7). In the Roman Catholic Church, Canada's largest denomination, 19 Quebec priests denounced the Vatican's opposition to same-sex marriage in an open letter to *La Presse* on February 27, 2006 (Cornacchia, 2006). The letter stated that, "on the mysteries of political, social, family and sexual life," official Church teaching "has shown itself more than once to be wrong," and called on Quebec clergy to open dialogue at the parish level (Ha, 2006).

Deep divisions emerged in the Anglican Church, both before and after the proclamation of the *Civil Marriage Act*. In 1998, the world's Anglican bishops condemned homosexual practice as being contrary to Scripture, although many

Canadian and American congregations dissented ("Anglicans," 2007). At the 2007 General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada (Valpy, 2007), laity and clergy voted in favor of a resolution that would have allowed for the blessing of same-sex unions by margins of 79 to 59 (laity) and 63 to 53 (clergy). The resolution was vetoed by the bishops, who voted 21 to 19 against.

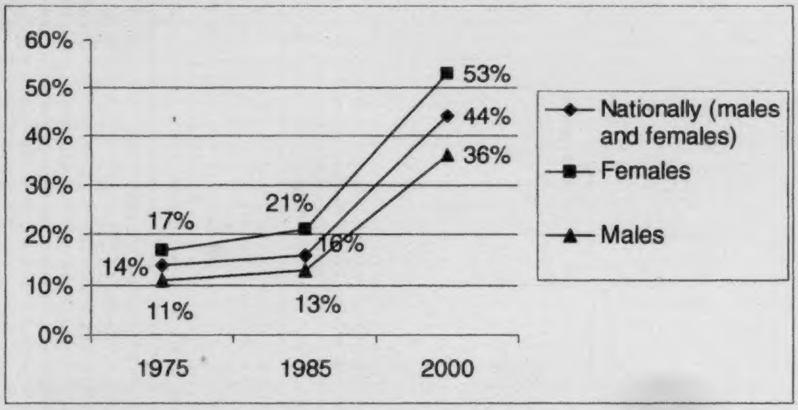
Public Opinion

In the following section of this chapter, I present statistics that show the change in Canadians' attitudes toward homosexuality, same-sex marriage, and equal rights between 1975 and the present. Throughout this period, Canadians have been more likely to support equality rights for homosexuals than to approve of either homosexuality or same-sex marriage. Nonetheless, Canadians' acceptance of homosexuality has grown dramatically—from 14% in 1975 to 44% in 2000 (Bibby, 2004). The increase in support for same-sex marriage has been less dramatic, from 49% in 1996 to 59% in 2006—one year after the enactment of the *Civil Marriage Act*. Canadians' support for equality rights for homosexuals peaked at 81% in 1990, but by 2000 fell to 71%—virtually the same as it was in 1980. For all three indicators, support was consistently higher among women, young adults, and people with no religious affiliation than among other population subgroups.

Homosexuality[2]

Between 1975 and 2000, University of Lethbridge sociologist Reginald Bibby conducted six "Project Canada" surveys to collect data on Canadian life, including attitudes toward religion and homosexuality (Bibby, 2004). Each survey involved a representative sample of 1,500 Canadians. As shown in Figure 1, in 1975 only 14% of Canadians responded that it was "not wrong at all" for two adults of the same sex to have sexual relations. By 2000, 44% of respondents believed that homosexual sex was not wrong.

Figure 1: Canadians' acceptance of homosexuality, nationally and by gender, 1975–2000.



Percentage of respondents who answered "Not wrong at all" in response to Reginald Bibby's Project Canada survey question "What is your opinion of two adults of the same sex having sexual relations?"

Bibby's (2002) findings show that support for homosexuality was consistently higher among women, young adults, and Canadians with no religious affiliation than among other demographic segments. In 2000, 53% of

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[2] The tables and figures in this section reflect responses to Reginald Bibby's Project Canada survey question "What is your opinion of two adults of the same sex having sexual relations?" Source: "Homosexuality in Canada: A National Reading" [Project Canada research release, May 13, 2002], p. 1. Dr. Reginald W. Bibby, Project Director, Department of Sociology, University of Lethbridge.

Canadian women and 36% of Canadian men agreed that homosexual relations were "not wrong at all."

Figure 2: Canadians' acceptance homosexuality by age, 1975–2000.

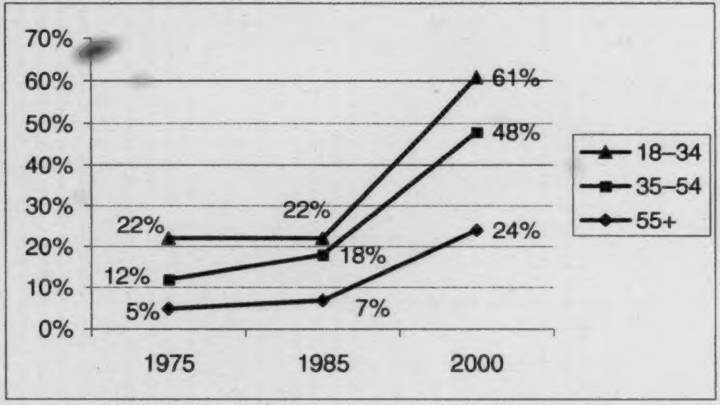
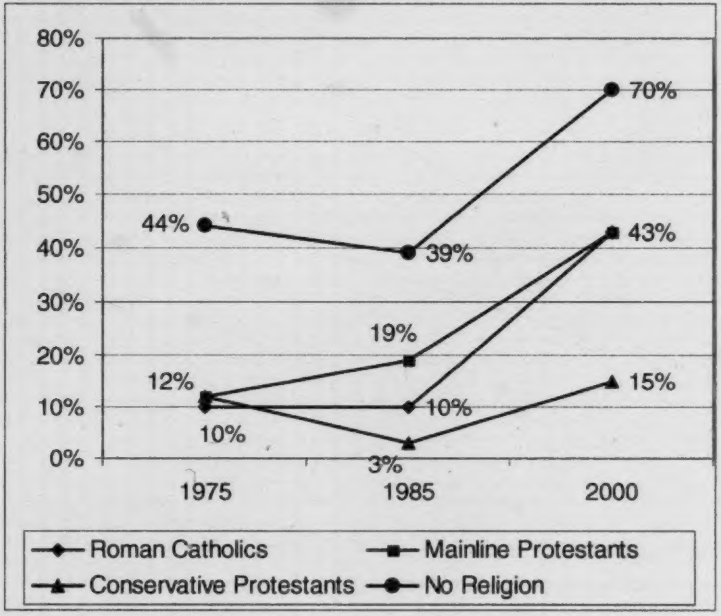


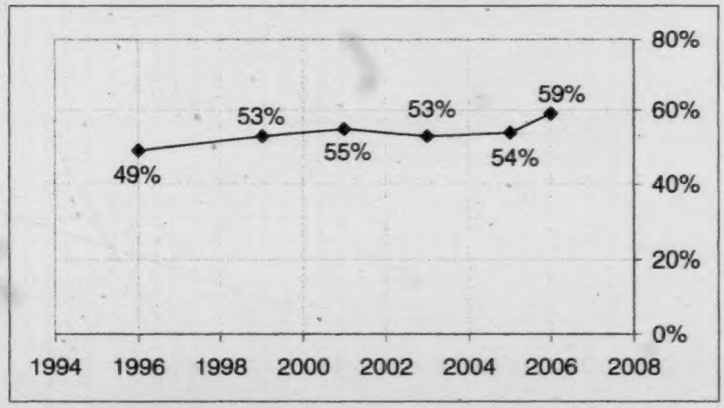
Figure 3: Canadians' acceptance of homosexuality by religion, 1975–2000.



Same-Sex Marriage

As shown in Figure 4, Canadians' approval of homosexuality grew in the decade before the *Civil Marriage Act* came into force. An Angus Reid poll conducted in 1996 found that almost half of the Canadian population (49%) supported same-sex marriage. By 2006, this number had grown to 59%.

Figure 4: Canadians' approval of same-sex marriage, 1996–2004.



Sources: 1996: Angus Reid as cited in Bibby, 2004; 1999–2006: Environics 1999, 2001, 2003a, 2003b, 2005, 2006; Adams, 2005.

NOTES TO TABLE: Different polls posed the question in different ways. In 1999, the question related to support for changing federal laws in order to give gay and lesbian couples the same treatment as heterosexual couples. In 2001, the question related to support for same-sex marriage. In 2005, the question posed was "Should Parliament pass a law to change the definition of marriage to include same-sex couples?" In 2006, the question posed was "In principle, do you strongly agree, somewhat agree or somewhat disagree or strongly disagree that same-sex couples should have the same right to civil marriage as opposite-sex couples?"

A 2003 poll conducted by Environics Research Group (2003a, 2003b) found the strongest support for same-sex marriage among women, people under 45, those with no religious affiliation, union members, people with university educations, and those with higher incomes. Support was also higher among residents of Quebec, British Columbia, and the Atlantic provinces, and among NDP, Bloc Quebecois, and Liberal supporters. Opposition to same-sex marriage was strongest among men, Protestants, Albertans, supporters of the

Canadian Alliance and, to a lesser extent, the federal Conservatives, people over 60, those with low incomes, and those with high school education or less. Support for same-sex marriage was higher among Catholics (57%) than among Canadians as a whole (53%) and among Protestants (38%).

Equal Rights

Canadians' approval of equal rights for homosexuals is much higher than their approval of same-sex marriage. In a 2004 poll by Léger Marketing, 74% of Canadians said they believed homosexuals should have the same rights as heterosexuals; only 43% said they approved of same-sex marriage ("Canadians Disdain Homophobia," 2004). This may suggest that people have not really stopped to think about the issue: Approving the right to equality while denying the right to marry seems contradictory.

As shown in Table 4, Reginald Bibby's (2002) Project Canada surveys (1980–2000) indicate that Canadians have shown reluctance to extend full equality rights to gays and lesbians. In spite of an upward surge between 1980 and 1990, Canadians' overall support for homosexual rights in 2000 was about the same as it was 20 years before. During this period, support for homosexual rights increased and/or declined among specific population segments. These trends suggest to me that social change needs long-term efforts, and that campaigns for change are likely to have ups and downs as different aspects of an issue emerge and enter the public consciousness.

Between 1980 and 2000, the most significant decline in support for homosexual rights was among churchgoing Roman Catholics and Canadians with no religious affiliation; the most substantial increase in support was among mainline Protestants. The changes in support among religious Canadians may reflect what these groups were hearing from their church pulpits. The United Church, Canada's largest mainline Protestant denomination, formally approved same-sex marriage in 2000 (United Church, 2005): this may account for the increased support for homosexual rights among mainline Protestants. Catholic pastors were almost certainly reflecting their church's anti-homosexuality doctrine, as spelled out in the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, in preaching to their congregations: This may account for the decline in support for homosexual rights among churchgoing Roman Catholics. The reasons for declining support among non-religious Canadians are less clear, but perhaps reflect lack of understanding of the implications of full equality for all citizens or fear of the unknown. As Wintemute (2004) observes, such fears often dissipate when people realize that acknowledging the rights of others does not require relinquishing rights of their own.

Table 4: Canadians' support for homosexual rights, 1980–2000.

	1980	1990	2000	% CHANGE (1980–2000)
Nationally	70%	81%	71%	1%
By Age				
18–34	81%	86%	81%	0%
35–54	69%	82%	74%	5%
55+	56%	72%	57%	1%
By gender				
Females	73%	86%	77%	4%
Males	68%	76%	66%	-2%
By Religion				
Roman Catholics (total)	74%	83%	71%	-3%
Roman Catholics who attend church weekly	70%	75%	52%	-18%
Roman Catholics who attend church less often than weekly	77%	88%	77%	0%
Mainline Protestants	67%	82%	74%	7%
Conservative Protestants	42%	60%	46%	4%
No Religion	93%	88%	82%	-11%

NOTE: The data reflect responses to the following Project Canada survey statement: "Homosexuals are entitled to the same rights as other Canadians."

The Aftermath

The House of Commons, under the leadership of Liberal Prime Minister Paul Martin, passed final reading of the *Civil Marriage Act* on June 28, 2005. A federal election was expected the following winter, and then-Conservative-leader Stephen Harper promised to reopen the same-sex debate should his party form the new government. A poll conducted for *The Globe and Mail* and CTV in the weeks just after the act passed final reading found that 55% of Canadians believed the next government should let the new act stand, 39% believed it should be repealed, and 6% said they did not know (Laghi, p. A1). The poll also found that 59% of Canadians favored equal marriage rights for same-sex couples, while only 33% opposed.

In the Environics Research poll conducted for Canadians for Equal Marriage in June 2006, a year after the *Civil Marriage Act* became law, an even larger percentage of Canadians believed the act should stand ("Canadians Accept Same-Sex Marriage," 2006). The poll found that 62% of respondents felt the issue of same-sex marriage was settled, while only 27% wanted to reopen the debate.

In October 2006, CBC News invited online input on the question of whether the Canadian government should reopen the debate on same-sex marriage. On October 24 and 25, 2006, 87 respondents expressed their views. Eight in ten respondents (79.3%) believed the debate should remain closed. As shown in Table 5, the mostly commonly cited reason was that the issue has been debated long enough. Other reasons included the fact that same-sex marriage is a *Charter* right of every Canadian, that the majority of Canadians support same-sex marriage, and that the church must not meddle in the affairs of the state.

Table 5: Reasons why the same-sex marriage debate should remain closed. (61 of the 69 respondents who thought the debate should remain closed offered reasons for their views. Multiple responses were possible.)

	# OF RESPONSES	%
The issue has been debated long enough. The courts have ruled. Further discussion is a waste of taxpayers' time and money.	23	37.7%
Gay rights to marry are enshrined in the Charter.	15	24.6%
The majority of Canadians support same-sex marriage.	10	16.4%
Same-sex couples already marry. This has not hurt society nor destroyed family life.	8	13.1%
Church and state must remain separate.	8	13.1%
Sanctioning same-sex marriage does not infringe on freedom of religion.	7	11.5%

Most of the 18 respondents who believed Canadians should reopen the debate on same-sex marriage felt the issue had not been adequately studied or debated. Two believed the same-sex marriage act infringed on Canadians' religious rights, and one expressed the view that gay marriage is wrong.

In June 2006, despite the wishes of the majority of Canadians as expressed in at least two national polls, Conservative Prime Minister Stephen Harper announced that the House would vote on whether the *Civil Marriage Act* should be repealed. In a free vote on December 7, 2006, the government's bill to reinstate the traditional meaning of marriage was defeated 175 to 123. The prime minister declared that the matter would not be reopened.

Building a Public Pedagogy Model for Social Change

The battle to secure same-sex marriage rights was shaped by a number of factors in Canada's legal and sociopolitical environment. Homosexuality had been decriminalized, and the issue of human rights was topical. This set the stage for social activism that shifted Canadians' attitudes to a point where laws could be changed.

Shifting Attitudes

> "It is abnormal. It is unnatural. And, it is an act against God the almighty."
>
> These words were spoken to challenge women's right to vote. Today, when we hear these words, we assume that the reference is to gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender people. (Canadian Labour Congress, 2006)

Like same-sex marriage, universal suffrage was an issue that deeply divided Canadians. But social change occurred nonetheless, as people's attitudes gradually shifted. Polls and studies clearly show that growing numbers of Canadians support same-sex marriage, even though public opinion is still divided. Sociologists, legal experts, and others pose various reasons for Canadians' shifting attitudes.

Journalist Leonard Stern, who heads the editorial board of the *Ottawa Citizen*, ascribes two reasons:

> First, a growing body of research suggests that sexual orientation is part of our hardwiring, like skin colour. The biological dimension makes it harder to label gays and lesbians as deviants who have made lifestyle choices. Second, the gay

> rights movement gave homosexuals the confidence to come out, the result of which is that straight people discovered their own colleagues, friends and even family members were gay. Homosexuals and homosexuality were demystified. It turned out that gays and lesbians—among them politicians, lawyers, teachers, parents—were not predatory weirdos, but completely ordinary people. (Stern, 2006, p. A18)

Waaldijk's description (2002) of the process through which homosexuality gained acceptance in the Netherlands supports Stern's thesis about visibility and demystification. Waaldijk notes that opposition from religious groups was of little consequence in the Netherlands' highly secular society. However, visibility played an important role in building support. With the legalization of same-sex marriage, "there were more public weddings in the streets, people would accidentally run into a same-sex wedding….If you go through the process of a wedding, you enlarge the circle of people who you're out to [and who can support you]."

National polls appear to bear out Waaldijk's observation. As shown in Figure 4, 59% of Canadians supported same-sex marriage in 2006, a year after the *Civil Marriage Act* became law, compared to 54% in 2005. Growing support reflects the growing visibility of same-sex marriage and diminishes opposition rooted in fear of the unknown. As Wintemute (2004) observes, fear of the unknown "dissipates quickly once married same-sex couples become a reality, and it is clear that their marriages do not harm anyone" (p. 1166). Despite the angst and fearmongering through the course of the debate, it is clear that neither individuals, nor churches, nor society at large have been harmed by extending the right to marry to homosexuals as well as heterosexuals.

Legal expert Nicholas Bala (2005–2006) notes that attitudinal change and legal change are often interconnected: "It is very difficult to effect sudden, dramatic legal change, even through litigation, in the face of the opposition of the majority of the population, but gradual legal change can help to change social attitudes, which can in turn help produce support [for] further legal change" (p. 229). Bala compares American and Canadian attitudes toward homosexuality to support his argument. He makes the case that, although Canadian and American constitutional documents use similar words, there is greater public opposition to same-sex marriage in the United States than in Canada. Bala suggests that this is because, "in some important ways, the American courts are simply reflecting the policies favored by a more conservative, more religious populace, while Canadian courts are reflecting the more liberal sentiments and values of a majority of Canadian people" (p. 229). Clearly, legal change and attitudinal change go hand in hand, and one reflects the other.

Robert Wintemute (2004) credits the relative speed with which lesbian and gay people and same-sex couples achieved formal legal equality to Canada's *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. He explains that the *Charter* "served to crystallize as constitutional principle the anti-discrimination rules adopted voluntarily by legislatures in the late 1980s and early 1990s" (p. 1180). Since

1985, when the equality rights provision of the *Charter* came into force, "discrimination against same-sex couples…has given rise to the most litigation under the Charter" (p. 1153). *Charter*-based litigation permitted same-sex couples to focus the new constitutional principle of anti-discrimination on other areas of formal legal inequality—including civil marriage rights for same-sex couples—and gradually to compel the legal acknowledgment of these rights. While such acknowledgement is but a step on the way to full social equality, it nonetheless has "tremendous material and symbolic value" (p. 1180).

Mark Noll, a religion and politics expert at Wheaton College (a Christian liberal arts college in Illinois) credits the implementation of the *Charter* and the birth of official multiculturalism as pivotal moments in Canada's shift toward social liberalism and away from the overlap of church and state that had marked its previous political history (Dreher, 2006). "Subsequent legislation on abortion, divorce and other social issues stirred many religious conservatives, but same-sex marriage was the real catalyst" (Dreher, p. F6).

Attorney and gay rights activist Joanna Radbord (2005) believes Canada's lead role in recognizing gay and lesbian rights and same-sex marriage is attributable to our functional approach to family law and to our substantive equality jurisprudence. The former "weighs the needs of persons living in families more significantly than whether those persons have marriage certificates" (p. 100). The latter focuses on "the lived experience of the claimants" and takes an objective and subjective look at the effects of the claim in the larger social and political context: "The central consideration is whether the impugned law offends the claimant's human dignity" or "demeans the claimant" (p. 111). Radbord explains:

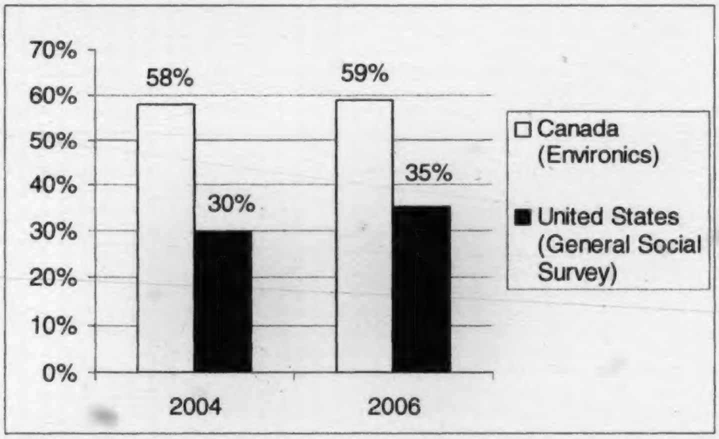
> To challenge discrimination, it is necessary to recognize the primacy of personal stories, to understand the lived effects of the law from the perspective of those marginalized by it.... (p. 100)
>
> Our courts have said that substantive equality is aimed not just at solving individual problems of inequity, but rooting out and ending systemic discrimination. It is therefore necessary to look closely at the lived experience of people's lives. The objective is to prevent the violation of human dignity and freedom, and to promote a society in which all persons enjoy equal recognition at law and are treated as equally deserving of concern, respect and consideration. (p. 111)
>
> Substantive equality requires that we...pivot the centre to situate the analysis within the full, lived experience of the claimant...to go beyond dominant ways of thinking,...to see the world from the perspective of those on the margin. (pp. 112–113)

Radbord contrasts Canada's model of substantive equality with the American model of equality, which treats likes alike—that is, it "requires comparisons between groups, maintaining those currently accorded rights as the norm" (p. 111). Sociologist Reginald Bibby (2004) concurs, noting that, in Canada, debates over issues such as abortion rights and same-sex marriage focus on equality, while in the U.S., they focus on individual liberty.

> …Canada tends to encourage social policies that contribute to the successful co-existence of interdependent parts—symbolized by the mosaic and verbalized by the country's long-standing national goals of "peace, order, and good government." In contrast, the United States gives far more emphasis to the idea of being a world-leading unified whole—symbolized by the melting pot and verbalized by the nation's long-standing goals of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." (p. 4)

Canada's legal and sociopolitical history is reflected in the attitudes and preferences of its citizens. For example, national polls (Figure 5) show that Canadians are more likely than Americans to support same-sex marriage.

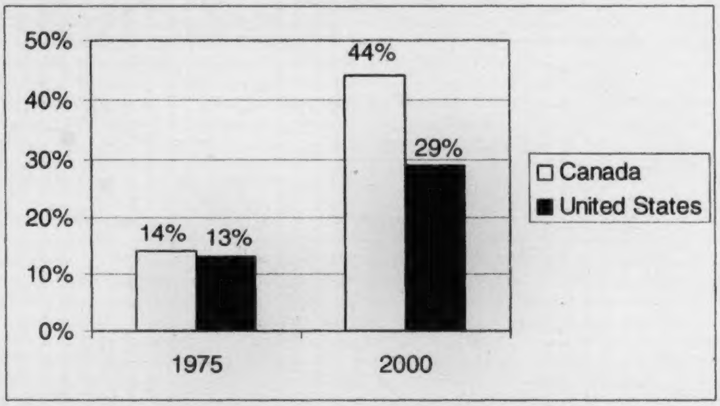
Figure 5: Percentage of Canadians and Americans who support same-sex marriage, 2004 and 2006.



Canadian data is from Environics polls (Adams, 2005; Environics, 2006). American data is from the General Social Survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Centre at the University of Chicago.

Over the past three decades, Canadians have also been more accepting of homosexuality than Americans. In 2000, 44% of Canadians said same-sex relations were not wrong at all, compared to 29% of Americans.

Figure 6: Percentage of Canadians and Americans who believe homosexual sex is not wrong at all, 1975 and 2000.



Canadian data is from Reginald Bibby's Project Canada studies (Bibby, 2004). American data is from the General Social Survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Centre at the University of Chicago. For the U.S., 1974 is used here as a proxy for 1975.

Michael Adams, founding president of the Environics Research Group, notes that "the most obvious and intuitive explanation for the disparity between Canada and the U.S. on the same-sex marriage issue is the higher level of religiosity south of the border" (Adams, 2005, p. 1). This thesis is supported by researchers such as Reginald Bibby, who suggests that Canadians are more accepting of homosexuality and same-sex marriage than Americans because they spend less time in church (Harvey, 2004; Bibby, 2004). Bibby's research also suggests that even when Americans are not highly involved in their churches, "they nonetheless are considerably more inclined than their Canadian counterparts to be opposed to homosexuality" because "personally and culturally, they remain part of a society that…is still highly supportive of organized religion. In sharp contrast, in Canada the religiously inactive seem to fairly readily buy into the dominant cultural ethos of diversity" (Bibby, 2004, pp. 14–15).

Adams concedes that Americans are more frequent churchgoers than Canadians: His company's own data show that "two in five Americans report that they attend church weekly, compared to one in five Canadians" (Adams, 2005, p. 2). However, Adams questions the direction of causality between opposition to same-sex marriage and church attendance:

> It is hard to dispute that Southern Baptists who are told each Sunday that they have a duty to defend marriage against the assaults of secular judges and sinful citizens are likely to be influenced by such messages. And Canadian United Church members who are told the opposite—that their duty as Christians is to uphold the vulnerable and the excluded…—are surely likewise influenced. In both cases religious participation shapes adherents' values….
>
> [But] do values beget people's religious affiliations, making modern religious congregations communities of choice composed of people who share common values? Or do people's religious affiliations, with their prescriptions from sacred texts, interpretations of those prescriptions by trusted leaders, and community standards among fellow worshipers, cause them to adopt particular sets of values? (p. 2)

Adams (2005) also notes that the values people hold about homosexuality and same-sex marriage are not as deeply held as the core values that shape individuals' worldviews. His firm's values surveys between 1992 and 2004 indicate that "Americans, with their traditions of individualism, distrust of government, and personal freedom, are now actually more deferential to authority than Canadians, with our traditions of group rights, institutional accommodation, and larger, more socialist government" (p. 3). Adams attributes Americans' greater deference to authority to insecurity caused by the vicissitudes of the economy, increasing violence in society, and lack of trust in the ability of the government to protect its citizens. He explains that "large segments of the U.S. population respond to this insecurity by fostering strong ties to traditional institutions such as churches, which may seem to promise some stability and sanctuary…in a sometimes chaotic and threatening world" (p. 5).

Bibby (2004) takes issue with Adams' dismissal of religion as a dependent variable that is the product of social and culture change: "He [Adams] gives virtually no attention to the possibility that, when it comes to social values, religion continues to be an important *independent* variable, capable of influencing people's values" (p. 16; emphasis is Bibby's). Bibby claims that his own data proves Adams wrong, and maintains that religion does matter. The implication, Bibby notes, is the following:

> To the extent that…attitudes toward homosexuality and same-sex marriages are going to change, those changes are going to take place primarily among the religiously uninvolved. The reason is obvious: deeply committed traditional Christians, for the most part, are going to continue to subscribe to the heterosexual ideal. They can be chastised, ridiculed, labeled "homophobic," and so on. But led by evangelicals and Catholics, they are not about to change. (p. 16)

In my view, Bibby is only partly right. Table 4 (based on Bibby's data) shows that churchgoing Catholics and evangelicals have the lowest rate of support for homosexual rights. However, in the case of the evangelicals there has been some, if small (4%), growth in support since 1980. In the same period, support among Canadians with no religion dropped by 11%. If Bibby's hypothesis is correct, support among nonreligious Canadians should have increased. Furthermore, according to Bibby's hypothesis, one might expect the highest degree of support for homosexual rights in Alberta, which in 2001 had the third-highest proportion (23.1%) of nonreligious citizens in the country, next to B.C. (35.1%) and the Yukon (37.4%) (Statistics Canada, 2003). However, in a 2006 Environics poll, Alberta had the country's second-highest rate of opposition to same-sex marriage (41%) next to Saskatchewan and Manitoba (50%), where only 15.4% (Saskatchewan) and 18.3% (Manitoba) of citizens claimed no religion. In Quebec, by comparison, where only 5.6% of citizens claimed no religion in 2001, opposition to same-sex marriage (27%) was the lowest in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2003; Environics, 2006).

It appears that more complex forces than religion and church attendance are at play in shaping Canadians' attitudes. Statistics Canada (2003) data shows that attendance at church has fallen significantly in the past two decades. In 2001, 20% of Canadians aged 15+ went to church once a week, compared to 28% in 1986; 43% of adults had not attended church in the previous 12 months, compared to 26% in 1986. This suggests that messages in favor of or against same-sex marriage are reaching Canadians through schools, lobby groups, the media, and in other ways than via church pulpits. In addition, it is not clear whether declining church attendance means Canadians are losing faith in the ideologies of their churches. As Clark and Schellenberg (2006) note, church attendance is not the only measure of religiosity:

> Declining attendance may overstate the extent to which Canada is becoming secularized, since a considerable proportion of Canadians do not attend religious services but do engage in religious practices on their own. Similarly, some Canadians who do not attend services still attach a high degree of importance to religion in their life. This suggests that while attendance rates have declined, many Canadians continue to practice their religion in private. (pp. 6–7)

Clark and Schellenberg also note that women are more likely to be religious than men (51% attend church once a week, compared to 34% of men) and to place high importance on religion (51% compared to 36% of men). At the same time, Canadian women are far more likely to support homosexuality and homosexual rights than men. There was no significant gender difference in the United States: In 2000, 30% of American women and 28% of men said same-sex relations were “always wrong” (Bibby, 2004; Harvey, 2004).

Establishing a Foundation

The issues around same-sex marriage—like the issues around street prostitution—are fundamentally issues of human dignity and human rights. In legalizing same-sex marriage, Canadians demonstrated a profound commitment to human rights and proved that social change is possible. People can change their attitudes about ethically difficult propositions. They can see the greater good, and bend their personal beliefs to accommodate the protection of other people's civil rights.

While the same-sex marriage case study offers hope for advocates for prostitutes' rights, changing society takes a sustained effort (nearly 40 years, in the case of same-sex marriage). It also requires that a number of fundamentals are in place. As I explain in the following sections of this chapter, these fundamentals include legislative authority, visibility, dialogue and partnerships, leadership, and social activism. In the case of same-sex marriage, some of these fundamentals were drawn straight from the pages of strategic planners and business project managers, who maintain that a problem cannot be resolved unless it has first been clearly defined. Other fundamentals used by same-sex marriage activists related to the social and legal milieu within which change was orchestrated. Each interconnected with the others.

Legislative Authority

Canada's progress toward full equality rights for homosexuals followed Waaldijk's standard sequence, beginning with decriminalization in 1969, and followed by anti-discriminatory legislation with the 1985 inclusion of sexual orientation as an equality right under the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (*Wintemute, 2004; Waaldijk, 2004). Decriminalization and legislative protection outlined the framework within which debate and social activism could occur. But as Bala (2005–2006) notes, legislation alone cannot change society. Rather, the interplay of legislation and public opinion is complex and dynamic, and one affects the other.

Decriminalization.

Decriminalizing homosexuality was an important step in changing social attitudes. It would have been far more difficult, if not impossible, to build public and institutional support for something that was not legal. Had homosexual relations been illegal, discrimination against homosexuals would also have been tolerated and same-sex marriage could not have been legislated. At the same time, decriminalization could not have occurred if civil rights issues had not been topical. The recognition of homosexual rights happened in the era when Canada's Aboriginal citizens finally gained the right to vote, and when Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement finally succeeded in eliminating segregation in American schools. As King's widow, Coretta Scott King (cited in Houlihan-Skilton, 1998), noted 30 years after her husband's assassination, his struggle for racial equality "parallels that of the gay rights movement" (p. 18). Mrs. King reminded her audience of her late husband's belief that "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere," and appealed to everyone who believed in his dream "to make room at the table of brother- and sisterhood for lesbian and gay people" (Reuters, 1998).

Although prostitution itself is legal in Canada, the *Criminal Code* criminalizes the activities of sex workers and everything related to the buying and selling of sex. Before sex workers can lay claim to equality rights before the law, prostitution must be decriminalized. Without decriminalization, the voices of prostitutes have no legitimacy and no authority in speaking about issues that directly affect their lives.

As shown through the experience of gay rights activists, decriminalization sets the stage for meaningful dialogue. Without decriminalization, clear articulation of "the problem" of prostitution is difficult—particularly because individuals who work in the sex trade have few, if any, means of participating in the discussion. Until the people whose lives are directly affected are involved, Canadians can continue to pretend that the contradictory half-measures outlined in the *Criminal Code* address the prostitution problem. In reality, these measures exist because Canadians have avoided articulating the problem clearly and honestly. If "communicating" is illegal, but prostitution is not, what is the real issue? What is the problem society needs to address? For example, is communicating in private somehow more acceptable than communicating in public? Is prostitution an "indecent act"? Or consensual adult behaviour that, in a modern civil society, should be outside the purview of the courts? And if the courts are indeed entitled to regulate indecency, why is there no definition of "acts of indecency" in the *Criminal Code*? Canada's current prostitution legislation is a hypocritical quagmire that precludes reasoned debate.

The role of the Charter.

The same-sex marriage debate was positioned as a civil rights issue. The equality rights enshrined in the *Charter* affirm that same-sex couples are entitled to the same rights as other Canadians, including the right to civil marriage. Canadians feel strongly about the *Charter* and the rights it guarantees Canadian citizens. As a result, although Canada's churches—with some exceptions—continue to denounce same-sex marriage, polls consistently show that the majority of Canadian citizens, including churchgoing Canadians, are in favor.

It is clear that, on the whole, Canadians, believe in equality. Through leadership and social activism, Canadians' commitment to equal rights can surely be directed toward defending and upholding the rights of prostitutes. However, while the *Charter* guarantees the equality rights of all Canadians, full decriminalization of prostitution is needed before prostitutes can lay claim to these rights and be assured of safety and respect in their workplaces.

The evolution of law.

> Canada's solicitation laws do not exist in a vacuum. They are inextricably linked with the regulation of sexual morality generally….Consensual sexual activities should not be prohibited merely because they offend community standards or are considered immoral by others. (Egale, 2005)

In its April 2005 submission to the House of Commons Subcommittee on Solicitation Laws, Egale Canada makes the case that Canada's *Criminal Code* and laws regulating sex workers and sexual activity have evolved. In the 1960s, these laws were based on community standards of morality. By the 1990s, Supreme Court decisions relating to the obscenity provisions of the *Criminal Code* were based on evidence of harm rather than community morality. Egale proposes that Parliament should "complete this evolution and move society away from criminalizing private consensual adult behaviour where there is no evidence of harm to the community or other specific and compelling reason." It offers the following five guidelines, which I have paraphrased, for evaluating legislative options related to the regulation of sexual activity:

1. Prohibition of sexual activities must be justified on specific, compelling grounds.
2. Justifiable laws and policies that regulate sexual activities must apply equally to all, without discrimination.
3. The moral standards of communities and individuals should not be used as grounds to prohibit consensual sexual activities.
4. Private, consensual adult sex that does not harm others should not be prohibited.
5. Children and adolescents must be protected from the harm caused by sexual abuse.

In making its case, Egale uses specific examples related to lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered people. Nonetheless, the proposed principles are equally applicable to prostitutes. Historically prostitutes, like other sexual minorities, have been disenfranchised and oppressed by community standards of morality that infringe on individual rights and freedom of expression.

Visibility

The gay rights movement gave homosexuals the confidence to come out. Once homosexuals became visible, their issues became public issues that could be debated in public forums. And once Canadians became aware of the hurtful discrimination homosexuals faced, laws were changed to rectify the situation.

The process of change begins with the ability to see the problem in terms of the real people whose lives are affected by social injustice. We respond to people's stories and their suffering when we understand them at a personal, emotional level. The AIDS epidemic in Canada served to personalize human suffering among both heterosexuals and homosexuals. But while AIDS is a human disease, not a homosexual one, it is my contention that the tragedy of AIDS has had the positive effect of forcing awareness and increasing the visibility of Canada's homosexual community.

The earliest AIDS patients in Canada were gay men and people who had received tainted blood products (CBC News: In Depth, 2006). Reports from the Centre for Infectious Disease Prevention and Control (Avert, 2007) show that, between 1985 and 2006, by far the largest proportion of positive HIV test reports (17,751) were among men who have sex with men. (Injection drug users had the second-highest rate of HIV infection, with 3,428 cases in this period.) In light of these statistics, a case can be made that social acceptance of homosexuality may have risen in proportion to the numbers of Canadians who died from AIDS: As shown in Figure 7 (Bibby, 2004) and Figure 8 (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2006), public support for homosexual rights peaked in 1990, in the same period when the death toll from AIDS also reached its peak.

Figure 7: Canadians' support for homosexual rights, 1980–2000.

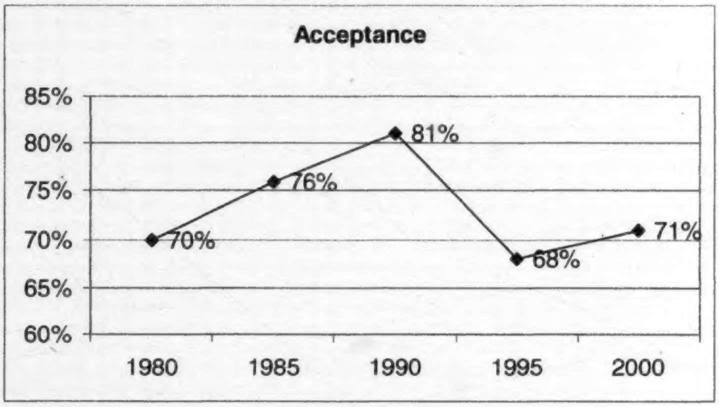
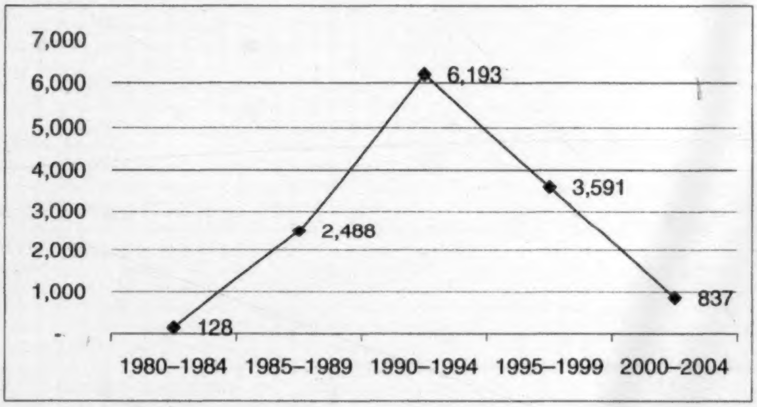


Figure 8: Number of Canadians who died from AIDS, 1980–2004.



The tragedy of AIDS helped to make gay and lesbian Canadians visible to their fellow citizens. Canadians' reactions to the murders of British Columbia prostitutes reveal a similar pattern of tragedy serving as the precursor to visibility. It took the murders of dozens and dozens of women to engage police action, and it took the publicity of the Pickton trial to waken the Canadian public to the desperate plight of the prostitutes who work our streets.

More than 350 journalists from across Canada and several countries were accredited to cover the trial of Robert William Pickton, who is charged with the murder of 26 women, many of whom worked in the sex trade. Pickton's trial opened in New Westminster, B.C., on January 22, 2007. In response to public concern about its coverage, CBC News editor-in-chief Tony Burman invited public discussion about how far journalists should go, how graphic their descriptions should be, and how much detail their stories should include. From January 23 to March 20, 2007,[3] 177 respondents expressed their views on these questions in a CBC-sponsored online forum called "Public backlash to Pickton media coverage" (CBC News: Letters, 2007). Of the 82 respondents who identified their home province, 38% were from British Columbia; 31%, from Ontario; 24%, from the Prairies; and 7%, from Quebec and the Atlantic provinces. Of the 155 respondents whose gender could be identified from their names, half were male and half were female.

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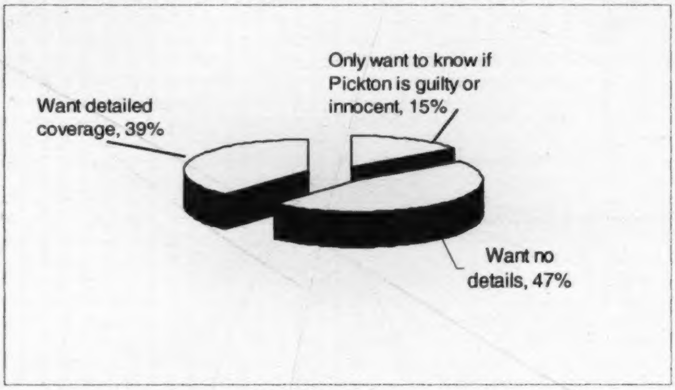
[3] As of July 16, 2007, no further postings had been made to the online forum.

I analyzed the responses to CBC's online forum to determine respondents' opinions on the depth, frequency, and content of media coverage of the Pickton trial. As shown in Figure 9, of the 143 respondents who commented on the depth of media coverage, 38% wanted detailed coverage, 47% wanted no details, and 15% wanted to know nothing but the verdict of the trial.

Figure 9: Opinions about the appropriate depth of media coverage of the Pickton trial.



143 of 177 respondents commented on the depth of coverage.

As shown in Table 6, four in ten respondents said that knowing the facts might help society appreciate and improve the lives of prostitutes and their families; these respondents believed that social change is not possible unless people confront and understand the problems they wish to solve. Respondents who felt that graphic media coverage was inappropriate expressed a number of reasons for their view. Some said that reporting gory details was disrespectful to the victims and their families. Some felt such reporting made children violent and robbed them of their innocence. Some said graphic coverage desensitized people to violence.

Table 6: Respondents' opinions on the effect of media coverage of the Pickton trial. (N=95: 95 of 177 respondents commented. Percentages do not total zero because multiple responses were possible.)

EFFECT	% OF RESPONDENTS
Coverage is sensationalized.	34%
Knowing leads to understanding and action.	41%
Gory details hurt children.	4%
Gory details incite copycat crimes.	2%
Media coverage glorifies Pickton.	12%
Gory details disrespect victims.	12%
Gory details desensitize people.	1%

As with all social change, citizens need to see the prostitution problem before they can discuss it, come to understand it, and recommend solutions. Whether or not people wanted to hear the details, it is clear that the Pickton trial helped to raise Canadians' awareness of the plight of street prostitutes. It helped make prostitutes visible. Until the cloak of invisibility that shrouds prostitutes and other sexual minorities is completely removed, Canadians cannot engage in the kind of debate needed to change laws that hurt these disenfranchised members of society.

Leadership

> Leadership does not always wear the harness of compromise. Once and again one of those great influences which we call a Cause arises in the midst of a nation. Men of strenuous minds and high ideals come forward.... The attacks they sustain are more cruel than the collision of arms.... Friends desert and despise them.... They stand alone and oftentimes are made bitter by their isolation.... They are doing nothing less than defy public opinion, and they shall convert it…. (Woodrow Wilson, "Leaders of Men, An Address," June 17, 1890)

Humankind has won its victories on the battlefields of civil rights thanks to the uncompromising leadership of people of courage—people like Martin

Luther King Jr., Mahatma Gandhi, Nelson Mandela, Desmond Tutu, and others who have dared to stand in isolation and speak out as public intellectuals in the face of injustice and discrimination. The victory of gay rights activists owes much to the leadership of Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, who as Justice minister, decades before same-sex marriage was approved, proposed and carried through the *Criminal Code* amendments that decriminalized homosexuality and provided the framework for the full recognition of the rights of Canada's homosexual citizens.

Trudeau was a convincing and charismatic champion of human and civil rights. On December 22, 1967, on announcing the most extensive amendments to the *Criminal Code* since the 1950s, Trudeau declared it was time to bring "the laws of the land up to contemporary society":

> Take this thing on homosexuality. I think the view we take here is that there's no place for the state in the bedrooms of the nation. I think that what's done in private between adults doesn't concern the *Criminal Code*. When it becomes public this is a different matter, or when it relates to minors this is a different matter. (as cited by CBC News: In Depth, 2007)

Once homosexuality was decriminalized, gay rights activists assumed the mantle of leadership and continued to work to attain full equality rights. They came together and built strong, effective, highly visible organizations—Egale Canada, Canadians for Equal Marriage, and others—that could lobby governments and provide Canadians with information about the issues. They built partnerships and garnered the support of powerful organizations and institutions. Decriminalization was the starting point for all this work. It could not have occurred without a champion like Trudeau, who could gain the public support needed to change the legal system and change society.

Trudeau's "bedrooms of the nation" statement still resonates with Canadians, and applies as much to the issue of prostitution as it does to homosexuality. Leadership is the catalyst that can begin the process of change to improve the lives of prostitutes. As I explain in Chapter 7, what is needed is someone—an individual or a collective—with the courage to say, "It doesn't matter if you think prostitution is immoral. It doesn't matter if you think decriminalizing prostitution is a subversive, heterosexual, patriarchal plot to keep women downtrodden and in their place. People are hurting and dying. We need to do whatever it takes to stop this *now*."

Dialogue and Partnerships

Across the country, as same-sex marriage drew public attention, debate and dialogue ensued. In Edmonton, in January 2005, 7,000 people attended the Break Forth Canada evangelical Christian conference, where keynote speaker Bruce Wilkinson warned that society would break apart if same-sex marriage were legalized (Retson, 2005). In June 2006, busloads of people were expected at a Parliament Hill protest co-organized by Tory MP Harold Albrecht, who predicted that same-sex marriage would wipe out an entire society within a generation ("Hill Rally," 2006). Citizens gathered on the steps of the Alberta legislature in a "prayer protest" in January 2005, drawing support for "traditional" marriage as well as opponents who deplored the protestors' lack of regard for "the reputation of Christianity" and the defence of human rights. In a letter to the *Edmonton Journal* on January, 30, 2005, Edmontonian Leslie Allen wrote:

> I'm not gay, I'm a Christian, and I wish I would've gathered like-minded Christians to protest the protest…
>
> Are we not damaging our gay youth when we encourage their peers to send the message that they need help of some kind, or need to accept a life of celibacy, or worse yet, they are simply a perversion? And believe me, as long as the adults in our society buy into this, there will be teens who will, and they can be vicious with it.
>
> It's a sad society that doesn't understand the purpose of the Charter of Rights, a sadder one still that is blind to the suffering imposed on this minority. (p. A15)

On both sides of the same-sex marriage issue, organizations strengthened their position by working together and building bridges to other groups that shared their viewpoint. New partnerships and alliances emerged. Church organizations as diverse as the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, the Druze Community of Montreal, the Islamic Supreme Council of Canada, the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Canada, and the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops set aside fundamental differences in theology and joined together as signatories to the November 9, 2006, "Declaration on Marriage," a document which opposes same-sex unions. Other church groups, including the United Church of Canada, joined ranks with civil rights organizations such as

Egale, a national organization (founded in 1986) that "advances equality and justice for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and trans-identified people and their families across Canada" (Egale, 2007).

Egale was a key partner in the Canadians for Equal Marriage campaign, which garnered support from individuals, trade unions, religious groups, and corporations. Leo Burnett, the world's ninth-largest advertising agency, is acknowledged as a corporate sponsor on the campaign website (Canadians for Equal Marriage, 2007; Leo Burnett, 2007). Other partners and supporters included the Canadian Auto Workers and the Canadian Labour Congress, both of which champion civil rights and human rights for all people, not only for their union members. For example, both unions champion the rights of women, Aboriginals, lesbians, gays, bisexuals, and transgendered people, and work to ensure the full equality of all citizens in Canadian society. Both unions recognize that sex workers are denied full equality rights, and are taking steps to address this issue.

Debate and dialogue brought the issue of same-sex marriage into the public consciousness. Over time, alliances were forged, support grew, people's attitudes changed, and the law changed in response. What worked for the same-sex marriage issue can also work for prostitution.

Social Activism

Debate builds bridges and fosters understanding. It helps to shape social attitudes, and engages citizens in social activism. Effective social activism is multilayered. It includes the grassroots—unions, churches, community organizations, and individual citizens. It engages the academic community, which studies, theorizes, and validates public discourse. And it plays on the political stage, where elected officials, legal experts, and the judiciary orchestrate legislative change.

Both proponents and opponents of same-sex marriage used tried and true social activism techniques to engage citizens in the debate. These included organization, communication, citizen engagement, and research and information.

Organization.

Activists for same-sex marriage launched the Canadians for Equal Marriage campaign, the umbrella under which agencies joined forces to send the message to Canadians. Opponents of same-sex marriage formed their own coalitions, such as the Defend Marriage campaign launched by REAL Women of Canada, the Canada Family Action Coalition, the Institute for Canadian Values and 11 other organizations (Defend Marriage, n.d.).

Activists on both sides of the issue organized and lobbied for financial and moral support for their cause. The establishment of an organizational infrastructure meant that paid staff could devote their time to research, fundraising, public education and awareness campaigns, media monitoring, and other activities. Activism became "somebody's job" rather than a volunteer-based effort, which meant that more could be done, and with greater professionalism and impact.

Many lessons in social activism can be learned from the religious groups who engaged in the same-sex marriage debate. As Carleton University political science professor Jonathan Malloy explains, same-sex marriage was a "crystallizing bill for evangelicals to rally around," and gave such groups "very clear focus and a very clear direction of who to vote for" (Dreher, 2006, p. F6). The result was the growth of religious conservative organizations such as the Canada Family Action Coalition (n.d.), a grassroots citizens' action organization founded in 1997 "with a vision to see Judeo-Christian moral principles restored in Canada" by providing "strategies, networking, training and tools to enable ordinary Canadians to influence their government." Inspired by the social activism tactics of U.S. religious organizations, the group works through local organizers in 300 to 400 communities across Canada to organize voting drives and lobby government. Dreher notes that another American trend being reproduced in Canada is the new wave of advocacy education and the "creation of religious think tanks and policy institutes, which provide advocacy groups with research and studies to support their positions," and help groups "frame their arguments in ways that will be taken seriously by the media and the public" (p. F6). He cites the Institute for

Canadian Values, the Manning Centre for Building Democracy, the Laurentian Leadership Centre at Trinity Western University, the National House of Prayer, and the youth-based 4 My Canada as examples.

Communication.

Activists on both sides of the same-sex marriage debate made communicating with Canadians a priority. They harnessed the power of the Internet, using interactive websites, online discussion forums, electronic newsletters, regularly posted updates, and media releases to disseminate information and provide opportunities for ordinary Canadians to get involved. Dreher (2006) describes the Internet as "the single most powerful new tool" in Canadian Christian publishing (p. F6); he cites the example of the Toronto-based Campaign Life Coalition, a member of Defend Marriage, which increased its reach from 30,000 to 20 million page views per month since 1997, when its print newspaper went online.

Both sides in the debate tapped intelligent, articulate spokespeople, and used the power of the media to air their messages. The Canadians for Equal Marriage (2007) website, for example, shows samples of print advertisements in support of same-sex marriage, ads aired in Famous Players Theatres, and video clips televised as public service announcements. The same website shows examples of a sample advertisement used by the organization Focus on the Family, which reportedly spent $1.5 million on an advertising campaign against equal marriage.[4]

This is Focus on the Family's advertising message, which appears below a photograph of a crowd of people. A young couple holding a small child stands in front.

> We Believe in Mom and Dad.
> We Believe in Marriage.
>
> The family is a schoolroom for life, and lasting lessons come from a man and a woman—a father and a mother.
> We believe in mom and dad. Their marital commitment to each other and their parental commitment to their children is the foundation of our society.
>
> Traditional marriage—If you believe in it, protect it.
> To learn more, visit www.focusonthefamily.ca (Focus on the Family, n.d.)

Canadians for Equal Marriage used the following message in its counter-advertisement, under a cartoon rendering of a crowd of people. Two dads holding children stand in front.

> We Believe in Moms and Dads, Aunties, Grandfathers, Foster Parents, Teachers, Friends…
>
> Our *community* is where life takes place, and lasting lessons come from the people all around us—all our relations.
> We believe in community, and our community's commitment to justice and equality is the foundation of our society.
>
> Gay marriage—If you don't believe in it, don't have one!
> To learn more, open your mind. (Stevens, 2004)

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[4] Focus on the Family's advertising budget is noted on the Canadians for Equal Marriage website (http://www.equal-marriage.ca), which also calls the organization U.S. based.

Citizen engagement.

On both sides of the same-sex marriage debate, social activism went hand in hand with political activism. Both Defend Marriage and Canadians for Equal Marriage posted online petitions on their websites. Both provided opportunities for Canadians to donate to their causes and to get involved as volunteers. Both lobbied Parliament directly, and called on their website visitors to lobby their members of Parliament. The Canadians for Equal Marriage website listed four steps citizens could take to influence the parliamentary vote on same-sex marriage: (1) contact your MP, (2) sign the petition, (3) make a donation, and (4) invite friends, family, and colleagues to take action. The Defend Marriage website offered a similar approach: (1) contact your MP, (2) support the campaign, and (3) report your MP's position.

Research and information.

On both sides of the same-sex marriage debate, activists used an evidence-based approach to frame their arguments. Campaign websites provided visitors with a wealth of background information, links to supplementary resources, and up-to-date information on the progress of various efforts. On the Canadians for Equal Marriage website, for example, readers could track the Parliamentary debate through links to relevant excerpts from Hansard, while other links led to the various political parties' official positions on the issue. The marriage and family section of the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada offered links to position papers, current statistics, and a chronology of political action.

Gay and lesbian activists continue to work to bring societal views in line with the hard-won legislative acknowledgement of homosexuals' equality rights. Egale Canada, for example, has launched a survey of Canadian school boards to gauge their policies toward bullying of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered students. Egale is also analyzing provincial human rights complaints related to discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation (Agrell, 2007).

The Evolution of the Model: A Summary of Steps

Human rights issues gained prominence on the world stage in the aftermath of WWII, with the birth of the United Nations and the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948). In the 1960s, civil rights issues gained prominence in Canada. Changing public attitudes created a social climate in which legislative changes could be proposed.

Homosexuality was decriminalized (1969). This was one of many rights-affirming legal changes undertaken by the Canadian government in the 1960s. The federal franchise was extended to status Indians in 1960. Nonstatus Indians finally secured full voting rights in all provincial jurisdictions in 1969. The *Official Languages Act* was proclaimed in the same year, on the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, which was guided by the principle that both francophones and anglophones should share as equal partners in Canada. All these changes focused on advancing the individual rights and equality rights of citizens—a Canadian ideal made real by the force of the law and the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.*

Decriminalization made it possible for homosexuals to begin to shed their cloak of invisibility. Canada's gay and lesbian citizens began to come out of the closet, and demanded to be seen and heard. They organized, launching the gay rights movement and gaining the confidence and security to speak out in defence of their civil rights.

Visibility led to dialogue, which opened people's minds to new ideas. In the 1980s and 1990s, the AIDs tragedy drew public attention to the issue of homosexuality. Canadians began to see homosexuals as people, and more importantly, as people with rights. The *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (1982) and the equality clause (1985) inspired Canadians' commitment to equality and social justice, and set the stage for issues of rights to be debated. Throughout the 1990s, *Charter*-based challenges to Canada's marriage laws paved the way for the legalization of same-sex marriage in 2005. As this process unfolded, academics and legal gurus began to debate equality rights issues in the courts and in the ivory towers of academia, and the debate about same-sex marriage entered the public domain.

Through newspaper and television coverage, parliamentary debate, and the involvement of churches and civic organizations, the issues were brought to a forum where people on both sides of the debate could engage in dialogue and social activism. Homosexuals became "real" people and same-sex marriage became a "real" issue that ordinary Canadians discussed in their churches, at their jobs, and with their families and friends. Even normally dispassionate groups made their voices heard. For example, the 28,000-member Hutterian Brethren, which believes in the absolute separation of church and state, wrote the prime minister to express their disapproval of same-sex marriage (Harding, 2005). Sikhs joined the Interfaith Committee on Traditional Marriage: Nirmal Singh Dhillon, Sikh spokesman for the committee, said that Canadian Sikhs usually do not publicly oppose anything, "but people were talking about this, and not coming out about it" (*Ottawa Citizen*, 2004, as cited in the *Edmonton Journal*, p. A5).

Forcing the debate into a public forum made people aware that there was another side to the story, whether or not they agreed with it. Continuing debate presaged a gradual shift in public acceptance of homosexuality and same-sex marriage, as indicated by public opinion polls from the early 1990s to date. Eventually, Canadians' deep commitment to human rights won out over moral ideology, and the *Civil Marriage Act* was passed (2005).

Implications for Public Pedagogy

The same-sex marriage case study offers a number of lessons for social activists who wish to improve the position of prostitutes in Canadian society. The public pedagogy model used by the gay and lesbian community in laying claim to their human and civil rights can be used to rally public support and mobilize the people and resources needed to begin the process of decriminalizing prostitution. The model reflects the following key principles:

1. The people whose lives were directly affected by the issue were engaged in the debate. They were directly involved in defining and advocating for the legislative and social changes needed to allow them full equality rights.
2. Same-sex marriage was positioned as a civil rights issue, not a moral issue. Pollster Tim Woolstencroft, managing partner of the polling firm Strategic Counsel, believes Canada's Liberal government succeeded in passing the *Civil Marriage Act* because it defined same-sex marriage as an issue of rights rather than a moral issue, and that "rights will also win over local issues" (Laghi, 2005, p. A1). Gay rights activists recognized that the issue of rights transcends specific issues. As Martin Luther King Jr. once said, "We are all tied together in a single garment of destiny….I can never be what I ought to be until you are allowed to be what you ought to be" (Houlihan-Skilton, 1998, p. 18, reporting on Coretta Scott King quoting Martin Luther King Jr.).
3. Public intellectuals—speaking as organizations and as individuals—lent their voices, their presence, and their influence to legitimize the cause. The same-sex marriage movement was represented by well-educated, well-positioned, articulate spokespeople, and had the support

of well-known, well-respected, influential individuals. These included people with national name recognition, like the lawyer Clayton Ruby, and people with significant local or national influence, like Toronto mayor David Miller, Senator Lois Wilson (former United Church of Canada moderator), former Ontario premiers Bob Rae and David Peterson, and Newfoundland and Labrador premier Danny Wilson.

4. Same-sex marriage activists launched a well-organized, well-funded, and compelling social marketing campaign to increase awareness and elicit support for same-sex marriage rights. They used a proven approach to social activism, and harnessed the power of the media and the power of the Internet. They "did their homework," researched the issue, reviewed Hansard and researched the opposition's position, and developed compelling, convincing messages to support their case.
5. Same-sex marriage activists cultivated the support of powerful, influential organizations from a broad range of sectors, from the religious to the secular. Support came from labor organizations like the Canadian Auto Workers, the Telecommunications Workers Union, the Saskatchewan Federation of Labour, and the Elementary Teachers Federation of Ontario; from ethnocultural groups, like the World Sikh Organization and the Vancouver Association of Chinese Canadians; and from civil rights organizations and churches.

CHAPTER 7: THE EMERGING GENDER–SEXUALITY FIELD – A NEW SITE FOR PUBLIC PEDAGOGY

> Each of us is a unique combination of genes, sex hormones, genitals, inner identity, erotic orientation and psychological masculinity and femininity. Together, we comprise a vast array of sex and gender differences, some obvious and some subtle, that make up the human family. (Skene Johnson, 2004, p. 3)

In previous chapters, I explore some of the powerful forces that direct and control the social and cultural position of prostitution in Canadian society. I explain that prostitutes are subject to widespread vilification and censure by local communities, the justice system, religious organizations, radical feminists, and governments. I review Bourdieu's theorizing to determine how his work might direct and enlighten my thinking about prostitution. I analyze how activists for prostitutes' rights might take encouragement and advice from the same-sex marriage campaign waged by gay men and lesbian women.

In this chapter, I use Bourdieu's theoretical constructs to enhance the public pedagogy model I present in Chapter 6, a model designed to facilitate social agency approaches for sexual minorities. I describe why I believe prostitutes, as members of a sexual minority, have natural allies within other sexual minority groups. I suggest that heterosexuality is beginning to lose its power over gender and sexuality issues, and that sexual minorities are ideally positioned to join together as a community of communities to confront heterosexual bigotry. I theorize an emerging gender–sexuality field that serves as a public pedagogy tool. I position gays and lesbians as the leaders of the gender–sexuality field, and I recommend that the gay and lesbian community assume the role of Bourdieu's collective intellectual, an intellectual force that functions at the level of ideas to combat societal prejudice against sexual minorities.

As I explain in previous chapters, this document reflects my personal voyage far beyond the world of gender and sexuality I was familiar with and into a world of sexual complexity, nuance, and innovation. My journey began with my desire to theoretically address the position of prostitution in Canadian society. But as my exploration and my thinking developed, I realized that prostitutes share many of the same experiences that other sexual minorities encounter. I also realized that I was actually one of the subjects of my research. I was exploring Canada's sexual culture, and to do so successfully, I needed to think about my role as a heterosexual male in what a number of feminists very correctly describe as our male-dominated, patriarchal society. Heterosexuality has not been a friend to sexual minorities; indeed heterosexuality has an abysmal history as the custodian of sexual practices. Heterosexuality turns a blind eye to the daily jeers and acts of violence inflicted upon sexual minorities. Heterosexuality is an avid consumer of prostitution, but insists on inflicting suffocating and dangerous laws upon the weakest prostitutes: street prostitutes and survival sex workers. It is time for heterosexuality to seriously reflect upon and address the long history of hypocrisy, subversiveness, and neglect that characterizes its treatment of sexual minorities.

I did not suddenly experience an epiphany that radically changed my views about heterosexuality. Rather, my opinions and insights evolved during a long, slow process—a process Bourdieu identifies as critical reflexivity (Noble & Watkins, 2003)—whereby I moved beyond my rigid, heterosexual worldview. The heterosexual worldview sees gender in binary terms, strictly male and female. It conflates sexuality and gender into identical realities, and interprets sexuality as being entirely a product of nature, whereby an individual is born with certain sexual desires that essentially remain unchanged during his or her lifetime. I now believe that many sexual minorities, and probably some enlightened heterosexuals, bring a degree of individual creativity to their sexuality, enabling them to create and recreate their sexualities—and indeed their genders—throughout their lives. This new approach interrogates and resists the moralizing dogma of religion, unwavering historical orthodoxies, and the narrow and rigid thinking that governs the lives of the heterosexual majority.

As I explain in Chapter 1, I chose to think about prostitutes as one of a number of sexual minorities in Canada because sexual minorities all share one remarkable characteristic—their lives are governed by their sexual orientations and practices. Sexual minorities are identified and/or vilified as being gay, or lesbian, or transsexual, or prostitutes long before they are allowed—if they are ever allowed—simply to be human beings and individuals who are far more complex than the sexual stereotypes forced upon them by the heterosexual majority. Many heterosexuals conceptualize sexual minorities as sexual bodies—not human or spiritual or individual bodies—in a way that inflicts far more intrusion and damage than any heterosexual will ever be forced to endure. As Kitzinger (1994) explains, "*homosexual* activity is translated into *homosexual*...identity. *Heterosexual* activity *per se* is generally seen as having no particular implications for identity, and most heterosexuals find it extremely difficult to talk about themselves as *heterosexuals*" (pp. 195–196).

Although sexual minorities are pathologized as being overly sexual, there are those who insist that minority sexual practices can be easily adjusted or eliminated. For example, MacDougall (2003) explains that sometimes the "sex in homosexual is censored so that homosexuals are expected somehow to easily eliminate homo–sex as an important part of their lives. People might be homosexual, but they can legitimately be expected not to engage in homosexual activity" (p. 14).

A similar phenomenon is discussed in feminist literature, but is attributed to the identity construction of heterosexual women. With regard to this view, I question those feminists who believe that only women are inexorably identified as sexual creatures. Chisholm (1993) quotes Monique Wittig, who suggests that the "category of sex is the category that sticks to women, for only they cannot be conceived outside of it" (p. 37). Although I agree that women are inordinately sexualized by contemporary culture, saying that only women are inevitably categorized as sexual creatures is an overstatement. Gay men are generally categorized as being gay far more quickly than they are categorized as individuals or as men. Certainly prostitutes—whether men or women, lesbian or gay, transgendered, bisexual, or other—are generally categorized as sex bodies, not as human beings.

One aspect of my personal voyage into issues surrounding gender and sexuality was my discovery that I was delving into social phenomena that made many people very nervous. Throughout the process of writing this thesis, I discussed prostitution and minority sexualities with a number of people. Some people had very strong negative feelings about prostitutes, and were willing to express those feelings. But most people chose to offer few if any opinions or thoughts about prostitution or about sexual minorities. It seemed to be an embarrassing topic, one that made people feel uncomfortable or apprehensive. I learned that sexuality in general is often a taboo topic. I learned that the silences surrounding sexual discourses play a subversive role in the lives of sexual minorities.

In my work as an adult upgrading instructor, I became personally familiar with male and female prostitutes. I began to think of them as people whose lives are interesting and important. With time I realized I was a rarity among the middle-class heterosexual society in which I spend the majority of my life. I began to realize that prostitutes live in a world that is foreign and mysterious to most people. I also began to understand that most sexual minorities, to greater or lesser degrees, reside in social purgatories, places where they are largely ignored, unless they see the error of their ways and renounce their chosen sexualities. Ironically, when their existence is acknowledged, they are denigrated, used, abused. and even murdered.

Where were the natural homes, the natural social spaces for sexual minorities? Where were those havens that offer friendship, support, and love? Whom could I speak to who might share my belief that prostitutes and other sexual minorities are human beings worthy of love and equality and respect, and more importantly, admiration? Could I speak to our priests or ministers? Could I speak to our community representatives? Could I speak to our police? Could I speak to our politicians? Could I speak to our educators? Could I speak to my parents, my brothers and sisters, my friends? I determined that the traditional social spaces that welcome individuals into their fold or offer them protection—churches, communities, judicial institutions, governments, schools, and families—too often turn away from the subject and the reality of sexual minorities. This is a form of shunning, of silencing. It is certainly a form of control, which Bourdieu describes as symbolic violence—a violence that relies on the subtle or invisible imposition of power with the complicit support of those being shunned.

I eventually realized that because I was exploring issues related to sexuality, I too was a minority. I too was being shunned and silenced. My questions and my opinions did not meet with majority approval, so I too needed a social space where I would feel comfortable, where my views and interests and questions would not be summarily dismissed. I wondered, does such a social space exist? Upon reflecting upon these questions, and thinking about Bourdieu's field construct, it became apparent to me that a social space is emerging for those who wish to resist or interrogate rigid heterosexual orthodoxy. I have termed this social space the gender–sexuality field.

The Gender–Sexuality Field: An Introduction

> The reality of the public relies on the simultaneous presence of innumerable perspectives and aspects in which the common world presents itself….For though the common world is the common meeting ground of all, those who are present have different locations in it, and the location of one can no more coincide with the location of another than the location of two objects. Being seen and being heard by others derive their significance from the fact that everybody sees and hears from a different position. (Arendt, 1958/1998, p. 57)

I postulate that the gender–sexuality field is occupied by individuals who see themselves as members of one or more sexual minorities because their chosen genders and sexualities differ, in varying degrees, from those of heterosexuals. Perhaps in no other field is Arendt's concept that "everybody sees and hears from a different position" more true than in the gender–sexuality field. Juang (2006) quotes Susan Stryker, who describes our sexual environment as a "wild profusion of gendered subject positions, spawned by the rupture of 'woman' and 'man' like an archipelago of identities rising from the sea" (p. 711). Stryker identifies a number of emerging gender and sexuality types: "FTM [female to male], MTF [male to female]], eonist, invert, androgyne, butch, femme, Nellie, queen, third sex, hermaphrodite, tomboy, sissy, drag king, female impersonator, she-male, he-she, boy-dyke, girlfag, transsexual, transvestite, transgender, cross-dresser" (p. 711). These and other sexual minorities constitute subfields within the gender–sexuality field. Individuals in each subfield compete for basic civil rights, social respect, acceptance, and legitimacy as sexual beings and human beings.

The emergence of the gender–sexuality field is a postmodern phenomenon powered by the dawning acceptance that multiple genders and sexualities exist or are coming into existence. Emerging genders and sexualities reflect realities that were heretofore ignored or demonized, but are now increasingly believed to be natural and psychologically sound sexual practices. The birth of the gender–sexuality field is propelled by growing numbers of individuals who have gained sufficient confidence and knowledge to identify themselves as members of new or evolving sexual minorities. Califia (1997) explains that members of emerging gender communities must reach and exceed a "critical mass…before sexual minorities can view themselves as a minority, share histories and accumulate a common agenda of grievances, and begin to demand accountability from individuals and institutions outside of their own subculture" (p. 246).

Fracturing the Habitus

As I note earlier, heterosexuality operates from the perspective that it is the privileged or ideal sexuality. If this is so, all other sexualities are generally treated and condemned as abnormalities. Bell (1994) explains Gayle Rubin's thinking about privileged sexuality.

> No noncoercive sexual act, sexual identity, sexual community, or sexual object choice is morally or medically privileged over others as closer to some sexual ideal. Theoretical systems that have defined and delimited sexuality, such as religion, psychology, and feminism, have all privileged a single sexual standard: "For religion, the ideal is procreative marriage. For psychology, it is mature heterosexuality." For radical feminism it is "monogamous lesbianism that occurs within long term intimate relationships." (p. 93)

The gender–sexuality field is emerging in opposition to the established habitus and to long-held beliefs about gender and sexuality. Bourdieu suggests that the habitus encompasses ideas and practices that were determined in the past and are alive in the present as embedded dispositions that reside in the body. As Bourdieu (1990) explains, the habitus, as a "product of history, produces individual and collective practices—more history—in accordance with the schemes generated by history. It ensures the active presence of past experiences" (p. 54). When the habitus is functioning with all its powers intact, with its embedded dispositions unchallenged, its tastes, desires, and habits uncontested, and its allegiances, race and class membership, and status willingly and unquestioningly accepted, society's objective structures happily serve as powerful technologies of control. It is the habitus that must be challenged to successfully break with the traditions—the cultural arbitraries—of the past.

The breaking or splintering of the habitus is a process that begins with what Bourdieu speaks of as hystersis, a wounding of the soul, when the sheer injustice of particular cultural mores begins to overwhelm the power of the habitus. This process is evident in the gay and lesbian communities. Ryan (2003) explains that

> more and more gay and lesbian people have awakened…to the truth of their own personal existence and experience, and refuse to be labeled as "liar" about life, openly defying and refusing their inferior status. In other words, they are displacing the problem, no longer seeing their sexual orientation as the "problem," but seeing the homophobia and heterosexism around them as the "problem." (p. 73)

I conceptualize the transformation of gay and lesbian thinking from a time when homophobia and heterosexism were accepted as legitimate to a more recent time where these cultural arbitraries are resisted as the gradual fracturing of the homosexual habitus. Leonard Cohen has a unique take on what one might think of as the power of a fractured habitus.

> Ring the bells that still can ring.
> Forget your perfect offering.
> There is a crack in everything.
> That's how the light gets in.
> —*The Future*

The Birth of the Gender–Sexuality Field

As more and more individuals gain the confidence to declare to themselves and to others that they are assuming the identity of a sexual minority, the reality of the gender–sexuality field grows as well. Warde (2004) describes Bourdieu's field as a

> relatively autonomous structured domain or space, which has been socially instituted, thus having a definable but contingent history of development. One condition of the emergence of a field is that agents recognize and refer to its history. (p. 12)

The historical roots of a field are not programmed to produce a full-blown, predetermined field. Rather, historical events, ideas, ideologies, and practices shift and change through time and space, and may ultimately influence the development of numerous fields.

The history of the emergence of the gender–sexuality field is inexorably intertwined with the history of the transformation of gender and sexuality during the past two centuries. For example, the nineteenth-century suffragette movement lives on today in fields as diverse as feminism, sociology, sexology, political science, law, and a host of others. I contend that the gender–sexuality field can trace aspects of its origin to the suffragette movement, which some refer to as first-wave feminism. As urbanization blossomed and societies became increasingly industrialized and differentiated, traditional male-dominated heterosexuality was challenged. White, middle-class women began to campaign for certain basic rights, including the right to vote, the right to compete for professional positions other than teaching and nursing, and the right to share control of their personal finances with their husbands.

It is my contention that new sexual identities likely would not be emerging today if not for the groundbreaking work of the suffragettes. A gender and sexuality discourse was initiated because women courageously turned the spotlight on male discrimination against women. This discourse reverberates today in heterosexual discourses, feminist discourses, gay and lesbian discourses, and now, in sexual minority discourses. Suffragettes began the work of turning women into individuals with individual rights, talents, skills, and sensibilities. Today, transsexuals, intersexuals, and a host of other sexual minorities are undertaking similar campaigns.

While white, middle-class, heterosexual women began to remove a few of the shackles of patriarchal hegemony, other forces that had the effect of establishing new rules and new controls upon the human body began to emerge. Boyd (2006) explains that, according to Michel Foucault, "while divinely ordained monarchies crumbled in the face of late nineteenth-century West European republicanism and the concomitant rise of state nationalism, state-sanctioned punishments (law) helped transform the body into a political anatomy" (p. 421). Boyd suggests that "the materiality of the body gain[ed] meaning as it became subject to new laws and regulations, but paradoxically the body became the subject of the state....As individuals began to participate more dynamically in the body politic, the body through its social and political gestures...began to participate more efficiently in its own regulation and prohibitions" (p. 421). Eventually, the body became "self-regulating as respectable or heteronormal" (p. 421).

It seems evident that the regulation of the body as heteronormal was empowered by the simultaneous creation of bodies that were abnormal, and hence required regulation and isolation. This provides further historical evidence of a dawning gender–sexuality field. Blasius (1994) explains:

> It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that physicians and psychiatrists conceptualized a homosexual type of person (one whose sexual instinct was perverted into same-sex object choice) and, through the use of urban police surveillance records (among other statistical measures), conceptualized homosexual persons that could comprise a population of homosexuals targeted for regulation by the state. Thus, it is in the context of this primarily administrative and therapeutic concern that we must view the creation of a distinctive homosexual or contemporary "lesbian" and "gay" identity. (p. 97)

This historical, biopolitical construction of homosexuality as a perversion that must be regulated and criminalized resulted in the construction of a despised sexuality that eventually asserted its right to exist, its legitimacy as a natural and moral sexual practice, and its equality with other more privileged citizens. Blasius (p. 98) quotes Foucault, who explains that the construction of contemporary homosexuality "made possible a 'reverse' discourse: Homosexuality began to speak on its own behalf, to demand that its legitimacy or 'naturality' be acknowledged, often in the same vocabulary, using the same categories by which it was radically disqualified." This reverse discourse marks homosexuals as the pioneers in the battle to legalize and legitimize a particular sexual minority in an environment where only one legitimate sexuality existed: heterosexuality.

The history of treating homosexuality as a criminal or medical abnormality has parallels in the history of society's treatment of prostitution. Werth (1994) explains that prostitutes in Glasgow during the nineteenth century were confined in hospitals with the goal of disciplining or correcting their social failures. Werth quotes Walkowitz's description of prostitutes' treatment regimen in the Royal Albert hospital.

> The women could only be transformed if order was put into their lives and a strict regime enforced. Accordingly, the inmates were subjected to work and time discipline: their daily lives were punctuated by work, prayers, mealtimes, lessons in ablution, and reading classes. This disciplined programme replicated the regime of other confinement institutions for "fallen women." (p. 11)

Werth explains that disciplining prostitutes is one example of the "deployment of the state's 'potential structural powers'—[for example]...the police force—within institutions like schools, prisons...and hospitals...[as] an important point on the continuum between micro–diversity and the macro–social order" (p. 15). Disciplining prostitutes is another example of identifying and controlling minorities with the larger goal of increasing state power. As I note in Chapter 1, Bell (1994) uses Gayle Rubins' work to explain that the legal and medical disciplining of prostitutes begins the "transformation of prostitution from a temporary job to a permanent occupation" (p. 95). The result is the creation of the "prostitute as a sexual minority like the homosexual and prostitution as a dissident sexuality like homosexuality" (p. 95). It is for this reason that I include prostitutes in the gender–sexuality field. Prostitution is a type of sexuality, a way of looking at sexual activity wherein individuals or groups exchange material goods for sexual activity.

As I discuss in Chapter 4, Bourdieu explains that the state reinforces its power by policing minorities, not with the goal of actually controlling the lives of minorities—although certainly that is one result—but to demonstrate and reinforce state power in the eyes of its citizens. The citizens misrecognize the disciplining of minorities as a moral or judicial act rather than what it really is, a demonstration of state omnipotence. This misrecognition is an example of symbolic violence in play: Symbolic violence is a violence that functions with the unwitting support of its victims.

In employing its disciplining techniques, the state receives powerful help from the institution of the family. Foucault (1990) explains that the family becomes the locus of self-regulation. "From the mid-nineteenth century onward, the family engaged in searching out the slightest traces of sexuality in its midst, wrenching from itself the most difficult confessions, soliciting an audience with everyone who might know something about the matter, and opening itself unreservedly to endless examination" (p. 111). The family Foucault refers to is a heterosexual family comprising two genders and two corresponding sexualities. The family's primary purpose is to reproduce itself, and to resist all other family or sexuality models. In fulfilling this purpose, the family has traditionally received powerful help from educational, religious, medical, and judicial institutions. As I describe in Chapter 6, churches are very vocal in their opposition to same-sex marriage. They claim that same-sex marriage is immoral and an assault on the traditional, heterosexual, God-sanctioned family unit. This argument is disingenuous. What is actually being threatened is church power that has been immeasurably strengthened through the close partnership between the church and the traditional family unit.

The success of same-sex marriage advocacy suggests that traditional technologies of control are beginning to weaken. The fact that new family models are emerging is further evidence that the gender–sexuality field is becoming a reality. *Globe and Mail* columnist Hayley Mick (2007b) reports that "advances in reproductive technology and the growing number of same-sex parents are creating a long list of new family forms: two lesbian moms and two gay dads; two moms and a part-time mom, even men and women who met through personal ads for the sole purpose of having a baby. Nontraditional families have created what many lawyers and human-rights experts say is the next frontier of family law: the legal recognition of families with multiple parents" (p. L3). Today individuals who choose to become involved in nontraditional families may sign formal agreements detailing the responsibilities of each family member and their expectations for the raising of their children. However, the contracts are not legally binding and nonbiological parents are not entitled to receive support within the courts. Mick notes that "for three-parent families, the non-biological parent is at a particularly high risk of losing custodial rights. Without a name on the child's birth certificate or a genetic bond, they may not necessarily be recognized by the courts—regardless of whether they've been there through thick and thin: conception, birth, scraped knees and the first day of school" (p. L3).

Churches, governments, and community groups resist same-sex marriage because they realize that the traditional family is arguably the most important socializing institution in society. The family inculcates and regulates cultural mores. Therefore, to the extent that the gender–sexuality field manages to conceptualize itself as a family, it will gain important power in the field of social and cultural advancement.

Rewriting Gender

Although the seeds for the gender–sexuality field were planted at least two centuries ago, the field has begun to take rapid shape during the past two decades, a period during which the powerful heterosexual majority has lost some of its hegemonic influence upon notions of gender and sexuality. Sexual minorities have begun to resist heterosexual imperatives which insist that gender and sexuality must abide by rigid medical, psychological, or religious definitions and sanctions. There is a growing confidence that male and female heterosexuality is not the sole sexual reality.

Bluntly speaking, heterosexuality is vulnerable in a postmodern world where multiple truths are receiving ever-increasing credibility. I hasten to add that heterosexuality is not vulnerable in the sense that somehow it will lose some of its current rights or some of its status. Rather, heterosexuality is vulnerable in that its omnipotence in the area of human rights is being challenged. Canadians are increasingly insisting that everyone is equal under the law. For example, some Canadians may not support homosexuality as a lifestyle, but the majority of Canadians prefer that homosexuals should have equal rights under Canadian laws. Pierre Trudeau's *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* has been overwhelmingly embraced by Canadians. The same-sex marriage case study I present in Chapter 6 supports this assertion.

One rock-solid cornerstone of heterosexuality—the belief that there are only two genders, male and female—appears to be resting on shifting sands. One example of this instability is presented by Califia (1997), who observes that, within the past decade, "some leaders of the gender community have called for transsexuals to direct their political efforts toward eliminating the notions of 'men' and 'women,' rather than working to be perceived by nontranssexuals as a member of either gender" (p. 245). Califia notes that this approach has "coincided with an increase in the numbers of people who label themselves as third-gender, two-spirit, both genders, neither gender, or intersexed, and insist on their right to live without or outside of the gender categories that our society has attempted to make compulsory and universal" (p. 245).

Boyd (2006) suggests that the "very outlaw status of the transsexual body can be figured as a space of radical possibility, a new way for bodies to matter" (p. 420). Boyd cautions that the "body is not simply a duped or docile subject; nor is it free to determine its own form. Rather, the body remains a highly politicized, unstable, and symbolic structure, intimately connected to the state, and as a result, it reflects both nationalism and resistant social movements" (p. 421).

As Califia suggests, a belief is beginning to emerge that individuals have the right and the ability to define their own approaches to gender and sexuality. Blasius (1994) quotes Foucault, who understands that sexual desire can be a source of human creativity.

> Sexuality is a part of our behavior. It's a part of our world freedom. Sexuality is something that we ourselves create—it is our own creation, and much more than the discovery of a secret side of our desire. We have to understand that with our desires, through our desires, go new forms of relationships, new forms of love, new forms of creation. Sex is not a fatality, it's a possibility for a creative life. (pp. 52–53)

Cromwell (1999) explains that, until the early 1990s, sex and gender were "considered one and the same thing" (p. 33). For example, sex (the body) was equated with gender (maleness or femaleness). The essentialist perspective (essentially a nature perspective) holds that "if born female…then one must be a woman based solely on genitalia" (p. 34). The constructionist (nurture) perspective holds that gender is constructed: "there is social action and reaction upon gendered subjects" (p. 34). Cromwell explains that "both the essentialist and constructionist formulations result in imposing normality onto the behaviors of people. Neither formulation is unfriendly to 'arrangements as they are' "(p. 35). My position is that the gender–sexuality field does not accept "arrangements as they are," but is open to the possibility that gender and sexuality may be the product of both constructionist and essentialist origins, and that individuals have the right to construct their own identities, and not be subject to majority views on such issues. Namaste (2006) supports this perspective and quotes Gayle Rubin, who argues "that it is essential to separate gender and sexuality analytically to more accurately reflect their separate social existence" (p. 586).

Another piece of contemporary evidence supporting my postulation that a gender–sexuality field is emerging is evident in the discourses surrounding intersex children— discourses that would have been impossible in previous generations. Intersex discourses challenge our traditional assumptions about the roles parents and medical specialists play in determining the gender identification of ambiguously gendered children. Butler (2004) explains:

> The intersex movement has sought to question why society maintains the ideal of gender dimorphism when a significant percentage of children are chromosomally various, and a continuum exists between male and female that suggests the arbitrariness and falsity of the gender dimorphism as a

> prerequisite of human development. There are humans…who live and breathe in the interstices of this binary relation, showing that it is not exhaustive; it is not necessary. (p. 65)

Cheryl Chase (2006) argues that individuals who are born without clearly differentiated male or female sexual organs are subjected to medical interventions designed to create either males or females from intersex infants. Chase describes this "production of normatively sexed bodies and gendered subjects…[as] acts of violence" (p. 301). She notes that "over the past few years…intersex people have begun to politicize intersex identities, thus transforming intensely personal experiences of violation into collective opposition to the medical regulation of bodies that queer the foundations of heteronormative identifications and desires" (p. 301). Writing in *The New York Times Magazine,* Elizabeth Weil (2006) notes that Chase advocates assigning a gender identity to young intersexual children, but allowing the children to determine for themselves, at a later age, which gender they feel comfortable with and whether they desire surgery. Weil reports that parents generally resist any suggestion that their children be assigned a particular gender without corresponding surgeries to correct their bodies: "One doctor…put…[Chase's] chances of persuading parents not to choose surgery for their intersex children at 'honestly, zero' " (p. 51).

Intersex discourses reveal society's traditional adherence to the view that only two genders exist and that any variation on this view is unacceptable. However, because intersex advocates such as Cheryl Chase have begun to lobby for more nuanced understandings of gender identity, and for alternate perspectives on early medical interventions, some intersex individuals are beginning to more calmly accept and value their unique position on what Butler refers to as the continuum between male and female genders.

Valentine (2006) suggests that, since the early 1990s, a distinction can be drawn between how heterosexuals, gays, and lesbians think about their genders and how transgendered people think about theirs.

> People who identify as “gay” or “lesbian” are understood as unambiguously men or women, and that they direct their desire to others who are, respectively, unambiguously men or women….these categories rest implicitly on the logic of binary gender which underpins the homo/hetero identity structure, a structure which requires clearly gendered men and women to desire one another (or each other). (p. 409)

Valentine explains that during the past two decades the category transgender has come to be understood as including people who are ambiguously gendered.

> The power of the category is that it is actively seen as a collective term to gather in all non-normative expressions of gender, no matter how they are labeled…including, but not limited to, transsexuals, cross-dressers, drag queens, and intersex people….Transgender identities are seen to emanate from the experience of “gender,” not “sexuality”….Transgender identities are conceptualized as quite distinct from homosexual identities, which are seen to have their source in “sexuality.” (p. 409)

The Globe and Mail’s Hayley Mick (2007a) reports that “statisticians don’t know exactly how many Canadians identify themselves as transgender, an umbrella term that refers to people whose gender identity or outward appearance doesn't fit traditional male or female norms. Discrimination means that Canada's transgender population has remained largely invisible—often closeted even at home" (p. L2). Although "transgender youth still face bullying and violence" (p. L2), there is growing evidence that transgender Canadians are gaining the confidence to express their sexual identities publicly. Mick reports that "transgender Canadians are coming out at younger ages than ever before. Support groups for transgender teens report growing memberships, and are sprouting up beyond the major cities in areas such as Kitchener, Ont., and the Niagara region. One by one, school boards are amending their human rights policies to include gender identity" (p. L2).

The fact that transgender people are publicly declaring their sexuality at much earlier ages is further evidence that a gender–sexuality field is emerging. Mick quotes Bev Lepischak, "who runs a transgender youth program in Toronto and has watched transgender teens emerge for the past two decades. Lepischak observes 'a massive shift….They're coming out much younger' " (p. L2).

Uneasy Alliances: Competition Within and Between Fields

Grenfell (2004) explains that, according to Bourdieu, "fields can be large or small, and there are fields within fields" (p. 28). A field comprises "individuals and groups competing for the dominant positions within the field and, in fact, between fields" (p. 173). Bourdieu (1998) explains that a competitive spirit—whether between individuals, groups, or fields—is a defining characteristic of his field construct.

> A field is a structured social space, a field of forces….It contains people who dominate and others who are dominated. Constant, permanent relationships of inequality operate inside this space….Various actors struggle for the transformation or preservation of the field. All the individuals in this universe bring to the competition all the (relative) power at their disposal. It is this power that defines their position in the field and, as a result, their strategies. (pp. 40–41)

The gender–sexuality field is a dynamic social space. Within this space, emerging genders and sexualities are brought more fully into being as individuals struggle within themselves, between themselves, and with other fields for recognition and acceptance within the broader community. Dynamic competition forces individuals to identify themselves more firmly as legitimate genders and sexualities. This is a form of ongoing creation and recreation that assists the emergence of new genders and sexualities. The same process furthers the development of the gender–sexuality field.

I contend that prostitutes possess the least symbolic capital and the least autonomy in the gender–sexuality field. Transgender prostitutes, according to some research, reside at the very bottom of the prostitution hierarchy. Whereas gays and lesbians can be said to possess positive symbolic capital, prostitutes quite clearly possess negative symbolic capital even within the gender–sexuality field, which is arguably more hospitable to alternate sexual practices than are other fields. I also contend that gays and lesbians possess the most significant symbolic capital and thus the most power within the gender–sexuality field. Because they are powerful, gays and lesbians can determine what is important capital within the field, and they can decide whether to compete directly with other sexual minorities for that capital. Because they are powerful, they have more autonomy—the ability to act with relative freedom—than do other sexual minorities. This makes them leaders in the emerging gender–sexuality field. As such, their future actions will help determine whether this field becomes a welcoming social space for social advocacy campaigns waged on behalf of all sexual minorities. In addition, their history of successful political agency can serve as a model of social activism for other sexual minorities.

Traditionally, identification with a particular gender or sexuality serves to highlight differences, not similarities. Prostitutes or gays and lesbians might seem to be naturally allied with other sexual minorities, but the reality is much more complicated. For example, transgendered individuals sometimes feel ostracized by gay and lesbian communities. Similarly, subfields within the field of religion may also seem to be natural allies, but all too often, subtle differences cause competition, anger, and even violence. I believe one contributing factor in the ongoing competition between sexual minorities is that gender–sexuality advocacy is endlessly positioned within a heterosexual framework. This provides a social space that allows radical feminists to attack all men, including gay men, for reifying patriarchal structures. It allows transwomen to attack each other based on whether their penises have been surgically removed. It allows prostitutes to be attacked by radical feminists who insist that prostitution must be eliminated because it is the product of male heterosexual hegemony. Because the pervasive heterosexual framework is the wrong fit, gays and lesbians may be uncomfortable forming partnerships with transpeople or bisexuals who blur the traditional male/female binaries.

Koyama (2006) explains how sexual minorities become caught up in turf wars that may serve to fragment and weaken the potential for social advocacy alliances. She offers the example of white middle-class women expelling a transsexual woman from a 1991 music festival on the grounds that "the festival…[was] open only to 'womyn-born-womyn,' a category designed to exclude transsexual women" (p. 699). In 1992, at the same music festival, a group of trans activists gathered to protest the festival's policies. They wanted to "persuade the organizers to change the festival policy to allow postoperative—but not preoperative—male-to-female transsexuals to attend" (p. 699). This led to "the post-ops…telling the pre-ops they weren't real women" (p. 699). Others became involved in the discussions and advocated the inclusion at the festival of pre-ops, post-ops, and "female-to-male trans people" (p. 699). By 2000, some transsexual women insisted that "non-transsexual and 'post-op' transsexual women alike 'deserve the opportunity to gather together in a safe space, free of male genitals,' because 'male genitals can be so emblematic of male power and sexual dominance that their presence at a festival…is inappropriate' " (p. 699). Koyama suggests that the no-penis policy was a deliberate attempt to exclude poor women, particularly poor women of color: "It is never feminist when some women are silenced and sacrificed to make room for the more privileged women" (p. 703). Koyama explains that white middle-class lesbian feminists are threatened by transsexuals because their existence exposes the "unrealiableness of the body as a source of their identities and politics…[and exposes] the fallacy of women's universal experiences and oppressions" (p. 704).

Koyama's case study highlights the need for sexual minorities to focus on commonalities rather than differences. The long history of heterosexual persecution of individuals and groups who are classified as other is, at best, self-defeating, and at worst, inhumane. It is time to develop new strategies that emulate the same-sex marriage campaign I discuss in Chapter 6—a campaign which very successfully created alliances between a multitude of societal locations. Same-sex marriage became a campaign for human rights. It reframed a gender–sexuality issue into an equality issue.

Some theorists, such as Devor and Matte (2006), observe that "collective activism in gay and lesbian social movements…[is] based primarily on sexual desires for persons of the same sex and gender" (p. 387). Therefore, they suggest, establishing linkages between gay and lesbian rights movements and transsexual rights movements requires jumping some significant hurdles. I contend that these hurdles are already being leapt, as evidenced in the battle for same-sex marriage by alliances between gays and lesbians and between same-sex marriage advocates and heterosexuals. Certainly, now is the time for sexual minorities to build strong subfields within the gender–sexuality field, but also to realize that endless competition between subfields will ultimately be fruitless.

Hierarchies of Shame

Who must bear the greatest burden of shame in Canadian society? I conceptualize the gender–sexuality field as a tall, slender pyramid. The vast majority of sexual minorities reside closer to the base. Groups that possess significant symbolic capital, and hence the least shame, occupy the upper portion. Groups with little symbolic capital occupy the lowest portion, and hence bear the greatest burden of shame. Some theorists suggest that transgendered people possess the least social status among sexual minorities. Other theorists believe that transgendered prostitutes rest at the bottom, and still others suggest that male prostitutes have the lowest status. What is clear is that no one can think about Bourdieu's field construct, with its intricate interweaving of the powerful and the weak, without concluding that the gender–sexuality field is a complex, highly differentiated, hierarchical social space—a space characterized by the endless imposition of shame.

Throughout this document, I have described the position of shame that is imposed upon prostitutes in Canadian society. Bourdieu's construction of fields as consisting of numerous subfields—with each one possessing the characteristics of a field—invites us to think about the prostitution subfield as a hierarchical structure populated by the powerful and the weak. The 15–20% of prostitutes who work on the streets are the least powerful in this hierarchy, and bear the greatest shame. The experiences of the remaining 80% are often ignored by our churches, our politicians, and our citizens. Weitzer (2005) notes that the "literature is lopsided in its concentration on female street prostitutes, which results in an unbalanced and distorted picture of the world of prostitution" (p. 229). He suggests that what is required is a more "elaborate model of varying power relations in prostitution, ranging from those types where workers experience extreme domination by managers to those where workers experience little exploitation and no coercion" (p. 229). At the conclusion of Chapter 5, I present the stories of prostitutes who feel empowered by their profession.

One prostitution subfield is inhabited by male sex workers, who are intimately attuned to the nuances of hierarchy and prestige. Dorais (2005) explains that street hustling is considered to be " 'the bottom of the ladder' because it is generally poorly paid and more dangerous. The hustler is likely to be arrested for solicitation, robbed or raped by clients, or hounded out of a territory by other sex workers or their protectors" (p. 27). A sex-worker hierarchy is evident in male strippers' attitudes toward hustling. Dorais notes that "no stripper wishes to look like a common hustler in the eyes of his peers. In the sex-work hierarchy, strippers assiduously preserve their status, especially if they claim to be heterosexual. 'The subject of…[hustling] is taboo….Nobody wants to be taken for a hustler. The guys want to preserve their male image' " (p. 31).

Dorais (2005) explains that the world of male prostitution is multifaceted.

> Male sex work is not a unitary phenomenon but, rather, a multifaceted one….Between the Outcast who hustles to feed his drug habit and the Liberationist who dances or prostitutes himself for the feeling of personal pleasure it brings, there is indeed a world of difference. Likewise, the difference is great between the Part-Timer attempting to supplement his income without the knowledge of friends or family and the Insider for whom the world of prostitution in fact represents his "family," his only social circle. Furthermore, a whole continuum of intermediate patterns stretches between these groups….Thus both the view of sex work as a plague on society and the view in which it is a profession much like any other find support and challenge in our study. (pp. 91–92)

Weitzer explains that there is a "dearth of research on transgender prostitutes" (p. 221). He suggests that it "does appear that transgenders occupy the lowest stratum of the status hierarchy and generally face greater difficulties than female or male prostitutes: they have higher HIV infection rates, 'usually have the least desirable prostitution location, make the least money, and are stigmatized and ridiculed by non-transvestite male and female prostitutes' " (p. 221).

Repositioning Heterosexuality

Although gays and lesbians are clearly winning the competition for symbolic capital within the gender–sexuality field, they still face significant challenges when competing against other social fields. MacDougall (2000) suggests that "society continues to associate homosexuality with negative concepts of criminality and illness" (p. 210). The homosexual reality is that success in the nation's courts and legislatures, which I discuss in Chapter 6, does not necessarily translate into respect in the hearts and minds of Canadians. MacDougall explains:

> For many years, homosexuality was treated as a pathology of the soul, leading to criminalization; later, as a pathology of the body or mind, leading to medicalization. The criminal and medical models have been discredited, but the tendency to believe that biology or nature has somehow failed the homosexual remains. She or he deserves our compassion for this trick of fate. (p. 210)

Canadians are compassionate people, but often their compassion is only skin deep. And sexual minorities need more than our compassion. I noted earlier that sexual minorities deserve society's admiration. Why is this the case? First, it is not sufficient for Canadians merely to tolerate sexual minorities. Toleration is a subtle form of violence operating in the guise of a gift—the gift of civil rights offered as a token, a form of placation, when genuine acceptance and admiration is denied. I support Clarke's (2000) caution concerning tolerance.

> Tolerance is…a false hope because it engenders a false sense of democratic belonging….Tolerance utterly neglects, indeed implicitly rejects, the utopian energies of self-determination insofar as these energies aim for more that an administrative maintenance of antagonism. (p. 172)

A just society is more than a tolerant society. In order to build a just society, I suggest that heterosexuals ought to embrace sexual minorities—including prostitutes—as heroes who are exploring new, emancipatory sexual frontiers. I believe that, by taking this step, heterosexuals have the opportunity to begin thinking about sexuality as a creative lifestyle. My research for this dissertation demonstrates this possibility. For example, in the course of my work, I asked a number of heterosexual individuals to explain to me what being a heterosexual man or a heterosexual woman meant to them. Their responses to my question included equal doses of mystification, incredulity, and shock. Surely this was a question with an obvious answer? And yet, after some discussion, the individuals I questioned began to realize that they had never thought about their heterosexuality. They had never been forced to create their sexual identity in opposition to an imposed sexuality. The result was that they, like most heterosexuals, failed to understand or appreciate that sexuality is, as Foucault suggests, something that we create. This truth is exemplified by prostitutes who freely choose sex work as both a profession and as an enjoyable occupation.

Based upon my own experiences, I believe that heterosexuals have the capacity to expand their thinking about gender and sexuality issues. For example, over the course of writing this document, I gained insight into my own experience as a parent by reflecting upon the thinking of some transpeople. Cromwell (2006) explains that transsituated identities "disrupt the binary notions of male and female as opposites" (p. 513). Cromwell quotes Chris K., who offers a trans perspective:

> I don't force myself to identify with one or the other but explore both my male and female sides. It is okay to feel/be male with a feminine side. I think that what makes me/us so special is that we are aware of both sides of our persona and we can express them. (p. 513)

As a heterosexual father, I take comfort in transsituated discourses that blur male and female identities. When my son was a baby, I often heard that women were the nurturing parents, and that it was essential for mothers to stay home and create warm, intimate bonds with their children. Fathers, on the other hand, should play a supporting role, one which required leaving home to work and thus support the family financially, and coming home to offer their wives emotional support and help with household chores. It was understood that women, and only women, were by nature the nurturing gender. And yet, from the moment my son was born, this was not my experience. I felt a deep connection with him. I nurtured him. I fed him. I cleaned him. I played with him. I laughed with him. I cried with him. I loved him. If I look at binary explanations for the roles of mothers and fathers, I can only assume that I was both mother and father. I did not think about whether I was exploring my feminine side. I was simply doing what came naturally.

In retrospect, particularly since exploring the personal narratives of transsexuals, I find that the thoughts and experiences of these individuals help me be at peace with myself as a nurturing male. Cromwell (2006) quotes Jacob

Hale, who suggests that transpeople may be positioned to explore deeper realities about the human condition. "Maybe…our distance from male and female, painful and alienating though our distance can be at times, lets us get at something more bound up in being human, lets us touch the purely human places in one another in ways specific to our transness" (p. 519). I believe that transpeople are ideally positioned to speak to all Canadians about a core humanness that may transcend the human fixation on genital repulsion or envy. I know that transsexuals would understand my experiences. This, I believe, is an excellent example of how heterosexuality can be positively and creatively influenced by sexual minority discourses.

It is my thesis that the emergence of new ideas about gender and sexuality must inevitably impact heterosexuality. Heterosexuality is weakening in the sense that it is losing some control over its monopolistic position in all things sexual. I believe this shift will be of immense value for both heterosexuals and nonheterosexuals, as well as for prostitutes and other sexual minorities. I believe that the emerging gender–sexuality field will have a profound influence on heterosexual creativity. Over time, the gender–sexuality field will be celebrated and admired by Canadians because it will have helped to inject new, transformative discourses into mainstream heterosexual discourses and practices.

Public Pedagogy in Pursuit of Realist Ideals: A Battle for the Hearts and Minds of Canadians

> How…can one think through the matter of bodies as a kind of materialization governed by regulatory norms in order to ascertain the workings of heterosexual hegemony in the formation of what qualifies as a viable body? How does that materialization of the norm in bodily formation produce a domain of abjected bodies, a field of deformation, which, in failing to qualify as the fully human, fortifies those regulatory norms? What challenge does that excluded and abjected realm produce to a symbolic hegemony that might force a radical rearticulation of what qualifies as bodies that matter, ways of living that count as "life," lives worth protecting, lives worth saving, lives worth grieving? (Butler, 1997, p. 540)

I conclude this dissertation with a message directed squarely at heterosexuals and at gay and lesbian Canadians. Perhaps my message can best be characterized as a call to arms, a request that heterosexuals and gay and lesbian people join together in a collective commitment to furthering the well-being of all sexual minorities. However, I also feel that heterosexuals need to be led out of the darkness, and that perhaps the ultimate burden for this task rests with gays and lesbians.

I suggest that gay and lesbian people are ideally suited to pursue, in the realm of gender and sexuality, what Giroux (2004b) refers to as a "militant utopianism" (p. 134). By this, Giroux means a political pedagogy of hope, a politics framed with the knowledge that "hope must be part of a broader question creating the pedagogical conditions for producing individual and social agents who are willing to 'make use of the freedom they have and to acquire the freedom they are told they have but have not' " (p. 134). I contend that gay and lesbian people are ideally suited to assume the role of leader and of collective intellectual for the gender–sexuality field.

Bourdieu (2001) speaks of the collective intellectual as a group of social activists who join in alliances designed to achieve specific social ends. Collective intellectuals may have neoconservative agendas, neoliberal agendas, or a host of other agendas. Each agenda is an example of a public pedagogy, an educational project designed to inform or direct or impose a particular ideological perspective. The agenda I propose for a gay–lesbian collective intellectual is to counteract neoliberal agendas that seek to place the sole responsibility for individual well-being on the individual, neoconservative agendas that apply a moral or religious sanction against individual practices, and heterosexual agendas that seek to disavow the legitimacy of sexual minorities. I recommend the formation of a gay–lesbian collective intellectual who works to achieve human rights for all sexual minorities, in the short term, and societal respect and admiration for all sexual minorities in the long term.

Giroux (2004b) emphasizes the need for collective approaches. "Any viable cultural politics must address the necessity to develop collective movements that can challenge the subordination of social needs to the dictates of commercialism and capital [neoliberalism]" (p. 137). Bourdieu (2001) explains that in the twenty-first century social agency can only be successful through collective efforts.

> This work…cannot be effected, as some have thought in the past, by a single great intellectual, a master thinker endowed with the sole resources of his singular thought, or by the authorized spokesperson for a group or an institution presumed to speak in the name of those without a voice….The collective intellectual can play its unique role, by helping to create the social conditions for the collective production of *realistic utopias*. (p. 21)

I position gay and lesbian Canadians as the natural leaders of the gender–sexuality field for the following reasons. Gays and lesbians share the identity of "sexual minority" with other sexual minorities, including prostitutes. Gays and lesbians are nearly always identified by the heterosexual majority as being sexual beings before they are accepted as human beings. They share with other sexual minorities experience of the symbolic and overt violence that characterizes homophobia, heterosexism, religious condemnation, and medical control. They are uniquely positioned to empathize with the suffering of other sexual minorities. They have a history of successful social advocacy, and their model for success can be taught to others. They share with all sexual minorities—as they also share with the heterosexual majority—the reality that some of their members are employed in sex work. They possess significant symbolic capital both within and outside the gender–sexuality field. I contend that gays and lesbians, with their history of extensive, long-term, probing academic work in queer studies and feminism, have immense intellectual capital to draw upon and to build upon. They are ready to develop the gender–sexuality field as an emancipatory political project.

Giroux (2004b) suggests that politics "needs to be theorized not as a science or set of objective conditions but as a point of departure in specific and concrete situations" (p. 133). He explains that

> this means rethinking the very meaning of the political so that it can provide a sense of direction but no longer be used to provide complete answers….Such a politics entails that we ask why and how particular social formations have a specific shape and come into being, and what it might mean to rethink such formations in terms of opening up new sites of struggles and movements. (p. 133)

I contend that the gender–sexuality field as a social formation is the appropriate point of departure from which the struggle for the rights of prostitutes and other sexual minorities must begin. The gender–sexuality field is a social space that conceives itself as embarking on an adventure, with an open mind and with the realization, as Giroux suggests, that the "struggle for justice and against injustice never ends" (p. 133).

I believe that gays and lesbians will gain significant benefits if they choose to join with other sexual minorities in social advocacy programs. They will be involved in what I believe is humankind's greatest project: the emancipation of fellow human beings. Giroux (2004b) advocates the cultivation of a public pedagogy that is infused with a sense of "worldliness" which he describes as a

> critical and engaged interaction with the world we live in mediated by a responsibility for challenging structures of domination and for alleviating human suffering. As an ethical and political stance, worldliness rejects modes of education removed from political or social concerns, divorced from history and matters of injury and injustice. (pp. 149–150)

I suggest that it is time for the gay and lesbian community to accept that their success in human rights advocacy can serve as a powerful and inspiring example of collective will overcoming a powerful state apparatus. *The Globe and Mail* reporter Hayley Mick (2007a) notes that the "success of the gay-rights movement has helped to pave the way for transgender rights" (p. L2). Mick cites the example of the Alberta Teachers Association, which in 2003 "changed its policies to prevent discrimination against students on the basis of gender identity. Others, including the Canadian Teachers Federation, have followed. Several universities, including the University of Winnipeg, are looking at setting up gender-neutral washrooms on campus" (p. L2). Thanks to the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, various institutions may feel compelled to enact legal rights for sexual minorities. However, prejudicial behavior, including emotional and physical violence, continues to force many young people to hide their sexual identities or to attend alternative schools that cater to a sexual-minority clientele. Very few such schools exist. Mick notes that the "Triangle Program in Toronto…[is] the only high school in Canada geared specifically to teens who are gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender" (p. L2).

Heterosexual Imperatives

Bourdieu explains that cultural arbitraries serve as the doxa or orthodoxy of fields such as religion and education. Cultural arbitraries are examples of ideas created in the past and accepted as truth in the present. I use the term heterosexual imperatives to refer to ideas that heterosexuals believe to be the truth about gender and sexuality.

Heterosexual imperatives are those ideas and practices which the heterosexual majority imposes, whether with deliberate intention or simply as a product of unthinking tradition, as the only acceptable, valid, or moral sexual ideas and practices. Beagan (2001) explains that "everyday heterosexism, like everyday racism and sexism, is not life-threatening—although gay and lesbian students never know when it might be accompanied by a more virulent homophobia" (p. 603). Everyday heterosexism takes its power from its sheer pervasiveness, a pervasiveness that continually normalizes norms. Beagan notes that the "practices of everyday inequalities are often mindless, unknowing, habitual. The power of these micro inequities is that they are seen as normal, unknowing, habitual" (p. 606).

The reality is that normal, habitual heterosexual imperatives are imposed upon heterosexuals and nonheterosexuals alike. However, to the extent that they think about them at all, heterosexuals have the luxury of contented, happy acceptance of heterosexual imperatives as doxa. Prostitutes and other sexual minorities have fewer choices.

The degree to which heterosexuals and sexual minorities accept the legitimacy of heterosexual imperatives is a factor of the success of what Bourdieu calls symbolic violence. I recommend that gays and lesbians, in the role of collective intellectual, interrogate heterosexual imperatives with the larger goal of fostering a critical reflexivity among sexual minorities. Such a reflexivity can lead to more creative, more flexible, more empowered approaches to sexuality. Below, I list a few of the heterosexual imperatives that the gender–sexuality field ought to interrogate and resist.

1. There are only two genders: men and women.
2. There is only one natural sexuality: heterosexuality.
3. Men are born male, and naturally gravitate toward the male habitus. If males fail to adapt to the male habitus, they are failures, and society is correct to think of them as physical, psychological, or moral reprobates.

4 Women are born female, and naturally gravitate toward the female habitus. If females fail to adapt to the female habitus, they are failures, and society is correct to think of them as physical, psychological, or moral reprobates.

5. Males or females who question any aspect of their sexual or gender identification are required to ignore and forget their thoughts or feelings.
6. Females or males who claim to desire alternative sexualities or genders are immoral, evil, and failures in the eyes of God.
7. Heterosexual sexuality was created by God. All other forms of sexuality were created by human beings.

8. Males or females who adopt nonheterosexual practices must be taught to abhor themselves.
9. Recognizing the rights of sexual minorities will jeopardize the rights of heterosexuals.
10. Heterosexuals are by nature not promiscuous.
11. Those who identify themselves as members of a sexual minority are, by nature, promiscuous.
12. Heterosexual males who are promiscuous are the victims of female enticement. Heterosexual females who are promiscuous are evil and overly sexed. Both heterosexual males and females will be forgiven by God if they ask for God's forgiveness.
13. Sexual minorities are promiscuous. God will not forgive them unless they renounce their chosen sexuality and declare that they have chosen to practice heterosexuality, which is the only legitimate and moral sexuality.
14. Heterosexuals have nothing to learn about sexuality or gender from sexual minorities.
15. Sexual minorities have failed to learn the sexual lessons that are self-evident to heterosexuals.
16. Prostitutes who offer sexual services for money are immoral in the eyes of God.

17. Men or women who offer sexual services within their marriages—in return for food, shelter, and material goods—are moral in the eyes of God.
18. Members of sexual minorities should not be given positions of responsibility with children.
19. Members of sexual minorities are poor role models for children.
20. Members of sexual minorities should not be given leadership positions in churches.
21. Members of sexual minorities should not be given leadership positions in corporations.

Breaking New Ground

Individuals who begin to resist the cultural arbitraries of their fields or their societies are experiencing what Bourdieu describes as hystersis, a disconnection between the nomos of existing fields and contemporary desires, aspirations, and realities. I postulate that the gender–sexuality field, with the help of the gay–lesbian collective intellectual, can be a useful thinking tool that helps individuals and groups foster a sense of hystersis that in turn provides the emotional impetus to create change.

I recommend that the gay–lesbian collective intellectual should use Bourdieu's theoretical constructs to develop programs designed to help individual members of sexual minorities reflect upon their sexual identities. I further suggest that the gay–lesbian collective intellectual resist becoming rigid in its views. It should resist imposing its views on others. However, it ought to have the freedom to take strong positions in opposition to existing hegemonic structures. This is antithetical to contemporary pedagogical practice, which—as Giroux (2005a) explains—often operates with the perspective that educators must never express strong support for particular social positions. Giroux suggests that to submit pedagogical practice

> to the reductionist notion that all oppositional language is a form of cultural imposition curiously forgets how ideology constructs experience within asymmetrical relations of power and that the refusal to name the human suffering and exploitation caused by particular social and cultural formations is, in part, a stance that ultimately supports through its silence and ignorance the very dynamics of oppression. (pp. 69–70)

I suggest that the gay–lesbian collective intellectual is well positioned to instigate probing discourses with sexual minorities and with other social fields. For example, within the gender–sexuality field the collective intellectual might pursue a discourse that begins with the consideration of a series of questions individuals and groups can consider. These questions might include some of the following, which I have framed to reflect Bourdieu's theoretical constructs.

Who am I? What sexuality and gender do I identify with? Do I share similar life stories with other people? Do I qualify as a member of a subfield within the gender–sexuality field?

What is my position in the gender–sexuality field? Who has the greatest power in the gender–sexuality field, and would these individuals be willing to share their expertise and to help me? Bourdieu explains that some subfields have more autonomy and more power than other fields. He notes that fields are hierarchical in structure, with some individuals possessing the most significant symbolic or cultural capital.

If I am a member of a sexual minority, and working as a prostitute, do I have any friends among other sexual minorities? Bourdieu explains that fields are sites of competition, and hence are not spaces of social transformation. However, the same-sex case study I present in Chapter 6 suggests that powerful friends can often be identified and used in social advocacy. It is my contention that the limitations of the field construct for social agency can be overcome.

Who are the other sexual minorities in the gender–sexuality field? Bourdieu explains that members of a field all agree on the worth of the capital they are competing for. It is this capital that binds groups together. I suggest that everyone in the gender–sexuality field is connected by the desire to inhabit a social space in which the exploration of alternative sexual practices is accepted, supported, and admired.

Who is winning? Who is losing? Will anyone take on a leadership role to create social advocacy programs for all subfields in the gender–sexuality field? These are perhaps the three most important questions for members of the gender–sexuality field to reflect upon. Bourdieu explains that public and collective intellectuals must lead social advocacy programs at the level of ideas. They must engage in direct competition with other powerful public intellectuals in competing fields.

Public Pedagogy as Strategic Action

I ask the gay–lesbian collective intellectual to consider taking on an activist role as a strategic partner in the battle to position sexual minorities as equal and respected members of Canadian society. Winning this battle will benefit sexual minorities and heterosexuals. However, I ask that the first charge be directed at helping prostitutes. Prostitutes live their daily lives in constant peril, and their plight warrants immediate attention.

My study suggests that the gay–lesbian collective intellectual should use a social agency model that is based on the following principles and strategies.

1. Decriminalize sexual activity between consenting adults.
2. Pursue visibility as a demystifying strategy. Try to convince sexual minority individuals who hold prestigious positions in society to become public advocates. (Think about the immense service Merv Griffin might have provided for humankind if he had used his vast symbolic and economic capital in the cause of gay advocacy.)
3. Appeal to the *Charter*'s principle of anti-discrimination. In general, Canadians are receptive to causes that are positioned as equality issues, Take comfort and inspiration from Pierre Trudeau's wise statement that "there's no place for the state in the bedrooms of the nation."

4. Emphasize the primacy of personal narratives.
5. Accept that religion remains a powerful force in Canadian lives. Create partnerships with individuals who are member of various religions, but who are inclined to support your views. Consider creating churches that are sympathetic to your cause. Interrogate and resist the close relationship between the Catholic church and public schools.
6. Understand that women tend to be more supportive of sexual minorities than men are. Create partnerships with sympathetic women's organizations. Consider facilitating the development of female collective intellectuals—perhaps an all-female group of Members of Parliament—who would advocate on your behalf.
7. Be guided by the knowledge that the same-sex marriage campaign successfully created partnerships with trade unions, corporations, political parties, and community groups. Be further inspired by the knowledge that a growing number of heterosexuals respect you, admire you, and are willing to help you.
8. Be guided by the belief that the moral standards of communities and individuals should not be used as grounds to prohibit consensual sexual activities, including prostitution, and that laws and policies that regulate sexual activities must apply equally to all, without discrimination.

9. Accept that tragedies such as AIDS or the numerous murders of prostitutes are opportunities to appeal to Canadians' sense of justice and humanity in the face of human suffering.
10. Resist efforts by those who conflate human rights issues with moral issues or child abuse issues. For example, decriminalizing prostitution is not a call for child prostitution or human trafficking.
11. Resist efforts by those who simplify complex issues to gain public support. For example, focusing only on street prostitution distorts the reality that many people freely choose to become sex workers in a host of off-street venues.
12. Identify and use articulate, powerful media spokespersons. Act upon the reality that the Internet is a powerful communication tool. Pursue the fine arts as a tool for social advocacy. Emulate initiatives like Proud FM, a new Toronto radio station targeting gay and lesbian listeners (Gray, 2007).
13. Carefully identify the action strategies that are being successfully employed by your enemies, and emulate these strategies where appropriate.
14. Inspire your members with the stories of sexual-minority members who are happy and successful. Resist privileging stories of suffering that may silence the happy stories.

15. Think about the benefits of public pride demonstrations. As highly visible representations of sexual minority pride, gay pride parades gradually help to sway public opinion in favor of minority groups. Cultivate prostitution pride.
16. Accept that, as a rule, significant social change only occurs after significant time and effort. Be prepared to think about change in incremental terms.
17. Resist heterosexual imperatives that belittle or marginalize your individual or group reality.
18. Resist privileging one gender or sexuality over another.

Making Peace with Your Enemies

On November 11, 2007, *The Boston Globe* reporter Kevin Cullen (2007) quoted Nelson Mandela as saying, "You make peace with your enemies, not your friends" (p. E3). My final recommendation to the gay–lesbian collective intellectual is to use Mandela's wise advice as your overarching principle for public pedagogy devoted to social change. Cullen reports that South Africa's transition from apartheid to a racially inclusive democracy had "all the ingredients for a bitter civil war" (p. E3). However, something remarkable happened. Two negotiators, representing the two enemy camps, began a series of private meetings. They discovered that "they connected at a basic, human level. The enormousness of the gulf between their two sides narrowed when they started talking about what kind of country they wanted for their children" (p. E3).

The South African experience reminds me of a time when I was a child in the 1950s, living in rural Ontario. My Scottish Protestant family and neighbors were very biased against French people and Roman Catholics. However, as a child, I was struck by the irony that the only French Catholic family living in my community was highly respected because they were "good people," unlike, of course, all the other Catholic and French people in the rest of the country. Being neighbors made them good people who were accepted and welcomed in community life. Becker (2006) notes a similar phenomenon occurring between sexual minorities and heterosexuals. As more nonheterosexuals come out, and come out at younger ages, it is natural that they will rub shoulders with heterosexuals: The more often this happens, the likelier that personal relationships will be established. Becker explains that "personal relationships play a major role in terminating 'blind acceptance of stereotypes' about sexual minorities" (p. 209). If strangers can become companions, there is hope that enemies can become friends.

This brings my dissertation full circle. I began this thesis by recounting a series of meetings with a young woman—my student—who worked as a prostitute. This young woman gave prostitution a human face. She moved me to admiration for her bravery, her humanness, and her wisdom. Without the inspiration of her example, I would not have written this document.

LAST WORDS

> Pedagogy is a moral and political practice that is always implicated in power relations. Pedagogy must be understood as a cultural politics that offers a particular version as well as a particular vision of civic life, of the future, and of how we might construct representations of ourselves, others, as well as our physical and social environment. (Giroux, 2005b, p. 149)

While writing this document I have been guided by Giroux's portrayal of public pedagogy as a moral and political practice empowered by the hope that social change is possible. Bourdieu's work suggests that social change is very difficult to achieve. However, Bourdieu also suggests that social advocates should take a pragmatic approach, and think about change as the pursuit of realist ideals. In suggesting this approach, Bourdieu accepts that we are all constrained by the social realities that define and control our times. Nevertheless, Bourdieu knows that the failure to pursue ideals leaves humankind with no hope for change.

Same-sex marriage advocacy in Canada is an excellent example of Bourdieu's call for the pursuit of realist ideals. It is also a powerful example of a public pedagogy successfully pursuing social change. Although same-sex marriage advocates understood the difficulty of realizing a utopia wherein the vast majority of Canadians respect and admire minority sexualities, they also understood that the pursuit of equal human rights was a goal that could be realized.

Certainly, efforts to create a better world are fraught with peril. A wealth of evidence suggests that the human masses are incapable of progress. With downcast vision, humankind is firmly ensconced in momentary travail. Worried about the opinions of others, boisterous with love of self while requiring the nurturing support of peers, aggressive but fearful of change or ideas or strangers, the masses appear confused, rudderless, and insignificant. Yes, imperfection is a reality of the human species—a defining characteristic. Despite the capacity to think, to ponder cause and effect, and to communicate with others, modern men and women too often fail—as do the prisoners in Plato's cave—to distinguish fact from fiction, reality from illusion, and reasonable judgment from passionate opinion. Indeed, individuals seem to work best or with greatest confidence when relying on the consensus of the many and the traditions of the past to verify whether their views are correct, or more precisely, acceptable. On the other hand, this realistic appraisal of the human condition ignores our capacity to imagine a better tomorrow and to wish for transcendence from the familiar, unchanging cycle of life. Humans may be weak and irrational, but they are also complicated creatures, capable of dreaming a better life, a better world. With dreams comes the possibility for a better tomorrow.

I did not begin this project with the belief that I would conceive some shining strategy that would suddenly see the lives of all prostitutes transformed into happy success stories. But I did want to raise a voice in support of safer and more life-affirming work environments for today's prostitutes. I wanted to raise a voice in support of my belief that prostitutes are good people working in a difficult profession, good people who should be treated with the respect and the admiration we accord all Canadians. I think these are realistic goals.

After reviewing the history of same-sex marriage advocacy in Canada, I became convinced that Canadians have a great capacity for fairness and compassion. We changed laws. We changed society. Individuals and institutions among us found the courage to take a stand and speak out against injustice. Even organizations created primarily to protect the jobs of blue collar workers actively applied their considerable resources to social justice issues, and continue to do so now. The Canadian Auto Workers Union (CAW), for example, joined same-sex marriage advocates as a powerful public pedagogy lobbying on behalf of sexual minorities, including prostitutes. I am immensely encouraged by CAW's humanistic response to human suffering.

In the 2003 CAW Pride Policy Statement, the union resolves to advocate on behalf of sexual minorities.

> We will continue to demand the Criminal Code of Canada be amended to include hate crimes against the LGBT community. We will call on the federal and provincial governments to include gender identity within human rights codes to ensure protection for transgender individuals. We will demand that provincial governments acknowledge the reality of gay and lesbian families and amend government documents such as birth certificates that assume heterosexual parenting. We will continue to press the federal government to pass legislation [now enacted] allowing same-sex couples the right to marry if they so choose…. (p. 4)

In its November 2005 National Executive Board statement on the sex trade, CAW undertakes the role of a public pedagogy in support of people employed as sex workers.

> Those who work in the sex trade are among the most disadvantaged people in society.
>
> As a union, we need to add our voice to those of others calling for ways to reduce harm to sex workers. This is an issue of fundamental human rights and dignity.
>
> In Canada, the legal environment for sex work is contradictory and it isn't clear to anyone, including the members of the Supreme Court, what the laws are intended to achieve. While prostitution itself is technically legal, it is impossible to imagine how someone could provide sexual services without committing a crime. The same lawmakers who criminalize everything surrounding the buying and selling of sex, issue permits to establishments like massage parlours and escort services, many of which are known and thinly veiled sites of prostitution.

> Street prostitutes, already among the most disadvantaged of sex workers, are arrested and harassed by the police far more often than off-the-street workers….
>
> We need to seriously consider whether unionization is an appropriate and effective way of supporting sex trade workers….

This statement on behalf of some of our most defiled citizens is cause for hope. The success of same-sex marriage advocacy in Canada and the public pedagogy model it represents are cause for hope. The evidence is clear. Prostitutes and other sexual minorities do not need to accept the status quo.

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